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CONTENTS

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Old Slavic Graffiti of Kyiv: Problems of Linguistic History*

VLADIMIR OREL

In memory of my grandfather Vladimir Orel
buried in Kyiv

During the last few decades, Slavic inscriptions discovered in the ancient architectural sites of Kyiv (St. Sophia Cathedral, Zvirynets′ Caves, Kyiv Caves Monastery, Tithe Church, etc.) have been studied as historical, linguistic and paleographic monuments by a number of scholars including B. A. Rybakov (1947; 1959; 1963; 1964) and M. K. Karger (1950; 1961). There can be no doubt that the chief progress in the study of Kyivan graffiti was made by S. A. Vysotskii, who has published three monographs that may be considered the first corpus of graffiti (Vysotskii 1966; 1976; 1985). S. A. Vysotskii has carried out the enormous and intricate work of finding inscriptions on the walls, preserving them from destruction, photographing them, creating an adequate inventory, and so on. In order to achieve a more or less reliable chronology of the graffiti, he has also made an attempt to develop their paleography based on the traditional paleography of (East) Slavic parchment manuscripts. Owing to the high standards of Vysotskii's works and, in particular, to the general reliability of his photographs and drawings (a factor of particular importance in cases when work *in situ* is hardly possible, for various reasons), further progress in the analysis of Kyivan graffiti from the point of view of historical linguistics is now possible. Clearly enough, the time has come for a new publication of graffiti in which Vysotskii's achievements as well as the important findings of other scholars would be analyzed within the framework of the modern study of Slavic languages.

Presently I am working, in co-authorship with my student A. Kulik, on a new project—a commented corpus of old Slavic graffiti of Kyiv (for a preliminary publication of selected inscriptions with commentaries, see Orel and Kulik 1995). As our work has shown, there exists a number of interesting linguistic and historical problems concerning the graffiti of Kyiv. The present

* This paper was presented at the Slavonic Seminar in Oxford University in January 1996.

paper deals with some of these problems: the orthography of Kyivan inscriptions, as well as selected issues in etymology and lexicology.

In this paper, I follow the numbering of graffiti used by Vysotskii in his books. Missing and/or reconstructed letters are adduced in parentheses (). However, various textological signs describing the degree of reliability of our readings are left out. I also use a somewhat simplified transliteration in which *jus malyj* is rendered as я. Exact dates given below are established on the basis of dates explicitly mentioned in the texts. All other dates are based on paleographic considerations. Dubious dates are marked by (?). If the date cannot be established, it is marked as (?) after the number of the inscription.

ORTHOGRAPHY

When analyzing Slavic graffiti of Kyiv, scholars used to assume that they belonged to a unified graphic and orthographic system (a standard) which, with some possible marginal deviations, was the same as that of Old East Slavic parchment manuscripts. However, when inspecting the graffiti more closely, we discover that this is not the case: in graffiti, one finds more than one orthographic system and there are no traces of one and the same orthographic standard. Orthographic systems of Kyivan graffiti may be described using the principles suggested by A. A. Zalizniak in his analysis of the Old Novgorodian language (1986, 93–111; 1993, 233–41). Such a description includes an inventory of graphemes and a list of specific graphic effects differentiating a particular orthographic system from ideal ones (Early and Late Old East Slavic systems).

As far as the inventory of graphemes is concerned, the alphabet of the St. Michael chapel of St. Sophia is, undoubtedly, of particular interest. Its paleographic date is the eleventh century (Vysotskii 1976, 12–23). If Ianin's (1986, 55) convincing emendation is accepted and the letter following ш is transliterated as ψ instead of щ, we deal with such an inventory which only differs from the Greek alphabet in three properly Slavic letters: б, superscript ж, and ш. Does this mean that the scribe knew the Greek alphabet better than the Slavic one (which could explain the positions of н and о, see Ivanova 1972) or that it was his intention to demonstrate the differences between the Slavic and the Greek alphabets (Ianin 1986, 55)? There may be no convincing answer to these questions. In any case, it is hardly correct to consider the Sophian alphabet incomplete. It is rather more plausible that some of its superscript elements were lost or became nearly invisible. Indeed, on the photograph (Vysotskii 1976, fig. III 1) one may see a ˥ - shaped contour

between x and ш (remains of ъ?) while two vertical strokes may be detected above c, a possible trace of ц or ч.

Naturally, the real alphabetic inventory of graffiti (including those of the eleventh century) is never as limited as the St. Sophia alphabet. Hence, a symbolic or pedagogical function of the latter is plausible.

The most interesting features of Kyivan graffiti are discovered at the level of individual orthographic effects causing deviations from the ideal orthographic system. It should be stressed that the effects discussed below are well known from recent studies of the Novgorodian "everyday" orthography represented by birchbark letters and, occasionally, by parchment manuscripts (Zalizniak 1986, 100–10). Some of these effects are also known from the graffiti of St. Sophia in Novgorod (Medyntseva 1978).

In some cases, mainly in early inscriptions, we observe the confusion of jers having no phonetic justification and expressed mainly by substitutions ь → ъ and ь → ь/ъ: #3 (1052) - 3 sg. perf. розъгръмел(ъ) 'thunder', #4 (1093) - nom. sg. отрочъ 'urchin', gen. pl. роусъскыхъ 'related to Rus", #37 (12th c.) - instr. sg. имямъ 'name', аминъ 'amen', #38 (12th c.) - nom. sg. г(оспод)ъ 'Lord', #52 (1285) - nom. sg. д(ь)нъ 'day', #140 (?) - imper. дажъ 'give', dat. pl. намъ 'we'. Substitutions in the opposite direction are possible but less frequent, cf. # 9 (1070s–1080s) - acc. sg. ѣдьнь 'one' (unless the auslaut results from a damaged ъ with its upper horizontal bar lost). The examples of the graffito #201 (?) are more reliable. We find nom. sg. съблазнь 'temptation' and nom. sg. адь 'hell' there. As it follows from the above material, effects ь → ъ and ь → ъ/ь are mainly characteristic of eleventh–twelfth centuries; in one case, a graffito of the end of thirteenth century has the effect. Thus, even the period when these phenomena are attested in St. Sophia of Kyiv coincides with the time when the same process is observed in Novgorod (Zalizniak 1986, 109).

We also find a confusion of ъ - o and ь - e in Kyivan graffiti. It is reflected in a substitution effect ъ → ъ/o, attested in a limited number of inscriptions belonging to the early period of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries: #7 (11th–12th c.) - pass. part. masc. поставлено 'put, set', #190 (11th?) - adv. моного 'much, many', #197 (?) - nom. sg. игнато (proper name) , #326 (13th c.) - dat. sg. гаворилови (proper name). An opposite direction of the orthographic substitution o → ъ/o is found in a greater number of graffiti: #53 (end of 13th c.) - nom. sg. пъпадия 'priest's wife', #59 (15th?) - act. part. мъ(л)яся 'praying', #62 (?) - dat. sg. poss. pron. свъему 'his', #102 (11th c.) - gen.-acc. sg. дъбрынича (proper name), #146 (12th c.) - dat. sg. poss. pron. свъ(е)му 'his', dat. sg. игнатьви (proper name), nom.-acc. sg. прѣзъвищь 'name, nickname', nom.-acc. sg. neut. тъ 'that', 1 sg. pres. бъюся 'be afraid', nom. sg. fem. мъя 'my' (bis), gen. sg. adj. судьнагъ 'related to the Day of

Judgment', #194 (?) - voc. sg. съфие (proper name), #205 (?) - imper. помъзи 'help', # 229 (14th c.?) - imper. пръсстти 'pardon'. In one case, two simultaneous inverse substitutions are observed: # 314 (13th c.) - adv. тъгода 'then'.

Confusion of ь and е in Kyivan graffiti is much less frequent. In #207 (?) we find е replacing ь in the proper name dat. sg. георег(и)ю. It is of particular interest that this graffito belongs to the same hand as #205 in which the effect о → ъ is attested. In the inscription #146 (12th c.) which also shares the effect о → ъ, three forms with е → ь are registered: nom.-acc. sg. пръзъвищь 'name, nickname', нь 'not' and 3 sg. pres. трьпьщет(ъ) 'tremble, fear'. Finally, in #387 (13th–14th c.) the proper name Stephen appears as dat. sg. стьѳанови.

Unfortunately, the dynamics as well as the chronology of the orthographic development as far as the pairs ъ - о and ь - е are concerned, cannot be compared with the similar process in Novgorod because of the limited character of the Kyivan data. At the same time, our sparse material is not at variance with the Novgorodian picture for ъ - о and ь - е described by Zalizniak (1986, 103).

Several orthographic phenomena are connected with ѣ. One of them is of particular linguistic interest as it reflects the substitution ь → ѣ (an opposite development is attested only once, in #203). It is difficult if not impossible to explain the mechanism of this substitution that may have been caused by graphic similarity, functional parallelism, or other factors. Surprisingly enough, in Kyivan inscriptions ь is repeatedly replaced by ѣ in one and the same stem, continuing the "ideal" Early East Slavic *грѣш-ьн-: #38 (12th c.) - dat. sg. (грѣ)шѣникоу 'sinner', #64 (13th–14th c. ?) - nom. sg. грѣшѣньк 'sinner', #68 (?) - dat. sg. masc. грѣшѣну 'sinful', #156 (12th c.) - gen. sg. masc. грѣшѣнаго 'sinful' (bis). It is unbelievable that such a firm correlation between an orthographic phenomenon and derivatives of one stem could be accidental. The source of this peculiar usage may be characterized as an orthographic "fashion" connected with a certain ambiance, time, and locus.

In four cases, Kyivan graffiti preserve an orthographic effect well known in the Novgorodian birch bark letters, mainly of the eleventh to twelfth centuries but also attested at the end of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries (see Zalizniak 1986, 99)—the usage of the digraph уо instead of the more traditional оу or у for [u]. Thus, in graffito #387 (13th–14th c.) from St. Cyril's Church (this inscription also has a substitution е → ь), there is a form of dat. sg. masc. (с)воемуо 'his'. A similar form своемуо is also attested in the long inscription #203 (13th–14th c.), where it co-exists with у of proper names dat. sg. путькови and voc. sg. онуфрие. In #293 (13th c.) we find dat. sg. рабуо 'slave, servant'. An early inscription #29 (12th c.?) from the gallery

of St. Sophia is of particular interest. Its text, established on the basis of a photograph adduced by Vysotskii (1966, fig. XXXI 2), is as follows: помози рабуо соему(о) якуонуо. Several features unusual for Kyivan graffiti are attested in this inscription: systematic use of the digraph yo, a typically North Russian name Якунъ well known in Novgorod (Vysotskii 1966, 81) and continuing Varangian *Hákon* (Thomsen 1879, 140; Vasmer 1987, 553), and an irregular form соему(о) rendering *своемоу. I believe that such a combination of unusual features concentrated in this graffito may be explained by the northern (Novgorodian?) origin of its author.

Indeed, as indicated above, the orthographic effect itself was quite well distributed in the birchbark letters of Novgorod. Moreover, in Novgorod it must be of Finno-Ugric rather than Slavic origin, as proved by the orthography of the Baltic-Finnish letter #292, in which yo is a regular means to render Uralic [uo], cf. Orel and Torpusman 1995. It is, therefore, not very probable that the same digraph appeared in Kyiv without any Novgorodian influence.

The Varangian name of the author, dat. sg. якуонуо, mentioned in the *Povest' Vremennykh Let* under 944 and 1024 as Акоунъ and Якунъ, is well attested in the birchbark letters of Novgorod: dat. sg. яккуну (#257), gen. sg. poss. adj. якуновъи (# 263). As to the last of the described unusual features, the spelling of соему(о), it certainly may be a scribe's mistake. But if it is not, it should be interpreted as a result of the Finno-Ugric phonological rules forbidding consonantal clusters in the anlaut and inevitably requiring such a transformation of своемоу.

Thus, we have serious reasons to believe that graffito #29 was written by a visitor from Novgorod with a Scandinavian name and speaking Old East Slavic and a Baltic-Finnish dialect. The fact that the inscription was made on the gallery to which only the prince's family and nobility were normally admitted, shows that Iakun must have been a person of high social standing.

It is fairly clear that the orthographic systems used in the graffiti of Kyiv are quite different from the Old East Slavic standard known from parchment documents as well as from other types of sources. To use the term suggested by Zalizniak (1986), we may describe the orthography of the Kyivan graffiti as an "everyday" system, *bytovaja orfografiia*. The Kyivan system is strikingly close to the orthography of the Novgorodian birchbark letters, even in the chronology of its development.

VOCABULARY AND ETYMOLOGY

The graffiti of Kyiv contain important data which are of particular value for the history of Old East Slavic and Early Ukrainian vocabulary, as well as certain forms and words of etymological interest. This section deals with several lexical units, some of which are hapaxes attested only in the Kyivan graffiti.

Драниця. This hapax appears in the last lines of the graffito #25 (2nd half, 12th c.) in the following context (lines 12–14):

а въдала на неи
семьдесятъ гривънъ соболии(хъ) а въ томъ
драниць семьсъту гривьнъ

The key to the correct understanding of this passage is the sequence "а въ томъ," which seems to divide the whole sentence into two parts: the first part describes the absolute value of the land plot to be sold, while the second part speaks of the monetary units in which this sum will be paid. An alternative interpretation was suggested by Vysotskii (1966, 65–67), who treated seventy sable *grivna*s and seven hundred "dranitsa" *grivna*s as two components of one sum. However, this explanation seems to be inadequate inasmuch as it does not account for the phrase "а въ томъ." Moreover, to follow Vysotskii means to ignore that seventy and seven hundred are multiples.

The whole sentence becomes understandable as soon as we interpret the sequence "а въ томъ" as a linguistic expression of the sign of equality linking two different units, seventy sable *grivna*s and seven hundred *"dranitsa" grivna*s. To modernize the whole picture, one could say that this passage contains the exchange rate of the *dranitsa* related to the sable *grivna*. If so, it becomes immediately clear that the hapax драница stands for something ten times less valuable than соболь. Unfortunately, we do not know what material object was described as драница. Its obvious derivation from драти 'tear, skin' may corroborate a suggestion of its denoting some kind of pelts of inferior quality (squirrel fur?).

Дѣдити. This hapax begins the inscription #149 (12th c.?): дѣдилъ нѳ с(вятыхъ) касожичь тьмуторо(окан)и... As demonstrated elsewhere (Orel and Kulik 1995), in this context the word святые 'saints' stands for their images, i.e., icons (as this word is normally used when substantivized), and the inscription mentions a certain касожичь, a Circassian or a person called 'Circassian', in Tmutorokan' (the form тъмуторокани is loc. sg. without preposition) who carried out an action or was somehow related to fifty-nine icons (нѳ святыхъ), namely, he дѣдилъ them.

The meaning of the verb дѣдити can be established etymologically—by comparing it with various reflexes of Slavic **dědити* which were previously attested only in West Slavic languages: Old Polish *dziedzić* 'acquire, possess, inherit', Old Czech *děditi* 'inherit', Czech dialectal *dědit* 'buy', Slovak *dedit'* 'inherit' (Trubachev 1977, 226; Sławski 1979, 111–12). Thus, the meaning of the East Slavic дѣдити in our graffito may be either 'possess, acquire' or 'inherit'. If not a polonism, the verb дѣдити is a valuable lexical archaism in East Slavic.

Жизнобоудъ. This name appears in the graffito #15 (12th c.). Although structurally this is a typical (East) Slavic compound name, it has been attested only once, in birchbark letter #607 from Novgorod: жизнобоуде погоублене оу сычевиць "Zhiznobud has been killed at Sychevitsi" (Ianin 1986, 71). It must be stressed that the letter goes back to the second quarter of the twelfth century and, therefore, belongs to the same chronological stratum as our graffito. Inasmuch as the name is so rare, it may be supposed that Zhiznobud from Novgorod and his namesake from Kyiv are one and the same person. It is even more probable if other cases of graffiti reflecting contacts between Kyiv and Novgorod are taken into account. Graffito #29, in which a Novgorodian visitor Iakun is mentioned, has already been discussed. Another interesting example is found in two graffiti from St. Sophia, #18 and #19 (both of them belonging to the twelfth century), in which another rare name is repeated—Ставръ Городятиничь (Vysotskii 1966, 56–58). These inscriptions are connected with the Novgorodian birchbark letter #613, addressed to Stavr (Ianin 1986, 76). All these texts seem to refer to one and the same person, who is also mentioned in the famous passage of Vladimir Monomakh's "Pouchenie" that speaks of Stavko Gordiatich (cf. Rybakov 1963, 125–30). Another trace of the Novgorodian presence in Kyiv is found in graffito #22, whose author is called by the typically Novgorodian name Воннегъ; moreover, this very text is characterized by *tsokanie* (полоцанинъ), see Orel and Kulik 1995.

Забоиникъ. This word of inscription #61 accompanies a personal name and, therefore, may be understood as a description of a profession. According to Vysotskii (1966, 102), the word забоиникъ is derived from забои 'fence, railing' (cf. also Sreznevskii 1893, col. 896). "Вероятно," Vysotskii writes, "забойником называли плотника строившего забои: загородки для скота или лодки с бортами дополнительно обшитыми досками [...]." Although the derivation забои → забоиникъ is impeccable as far as formation and morphology are concerned, the semantic reconstruction does not seem convincing at all, since the very existence of such a highly specialized profession looks rather dubious. For the twelfth century, which is the paleographic date of this graffito, such a craft is a more or less obvious

anachronism. It is therefore necessary to look for another meaning of забои which is more acceptable as a source of a professional term забоиникъ.

We may develop two alternative interpretations. One of them is based on забоиникъ as a derivative of забои 'slaughter (of cattle)'. However, a normal *nomen agentis* in this case would be забоищикъ, cf. Modern Russian забойщик (Dal' 1935, 1:553). Another option is connected with the form забои attested in South East Slavic texts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in a specific meaning of 'churning (butter)', cf. дано от забою масла за роботу масленику четыре алтына 'four altyns have been given to the milkman for his work of churning butter' (Kotkov 1970, 216). The regular derivative of this забои might have been the source of our забоиникъ, which in its turn seems to be the basis of the Russian surname Забоиников (Veselovskii 1974, 117).

Каета. In the long inscription #4, made in 1093 and relating the burial of Vsevolod (Andrei) Iaroslavich, we find a somewhat vague passage in lines 4–5 that was read and divided into words by Vysotskii (1966, 18) as follows: a Дъмитръ Ѱлъ отрочъка его 'and Dmitr, his urchin, wrote (this)'. The resulting hapax отрочъка was interpreted as a synonym or, at least, as a paronym of отрокъ and отрочьникъ (Vysotskii 1966, 20). Having revised the photograph (Vysotskii 1966, fig. V), I found out that two signs, earlier read as го, must be interpreted quite differently. The first letter may be definitely identified as т. As to the second letter, its fairly visible "antennae" jutting out above the circle allow one to read "uk", a type of y, without further doubt. Thus, the analyzed passage must be completely reinterpreted as follows: a Дъмитръ Ѱлъ отрочъ каету. Now, we must explain two new forms: отрочъ and каету. As to отрочъ, it is a possessive adjective derived from отрокъ and used as a characteristic of Dmitr. The second word, acc. sg. каету, may be understood as каета 'repentance' (and in our text, probably 'penitent prayer'). This derivative of каяти(ся) has been already attested, even though in monuments of later date (from the seventeenth century) as каята (Bogatova 1984, 101). The material of our graffiti allows us to change the chronology of каята ~ каета radically.

Молодинъка. This hapax is attested as acc. sg. молодинъку characterizing Vsevolod, Iaroslav's newborn son, in graffito #99: ... мо(ло)динъку (вьсе)волода роди... The historical and linguistic context of the word молодинъка does not leave any doubt as to its meaning: either 'newborn, infant' or 'younger son'. However, such a word, or even its hypothetical derivational source *молодина, is unknown in the East Slavic languages in this or comparable meanings. A formally close Ukr молодина (Mel'nychuk 1989, 502) is semantically too different; moreover, its collective suffix -ин- is not exactly the same as in our молод-ин-ъка.

However, an exact correspondence of молодинъка is well known in another branch of Slavic, namely, in Bulg младинка and младина, substantivized forms based on млад 'young' (Gerov 1977, 70) and used in the meaning 'child, youth'. Even though we cannot exclude the possibility of an archaic Bulgarian-East Slavic isogloss, it seems to be much more probable that our молодинъка is a South Slavic loanword morphonologically adapted to East Slavic norms (including the restoration of the *nepolnoglasie* in -оло- > -ла).

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The Sound Change *e* > *o* in the Birchbark Letters of Novgorod and T. Fenne's *Manual*, and the N.sg m. Ending -*e**

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One of the characteristic features of East Slavic dialects is that an etymological **e*, or strong **ь*, is in certain conditions reflected as [o] in the modern languages. The usual formulation of the rule is: *e* > *o* before hard consonant, and also word-finally in some dialects. The largest scope of the *e* > *o* change seems to be in the northern dialects of Russian, which have many cases of [o] from **e* where modern literary Russian has [e]. This change did not affect **ě* in most dialects, but did in some northern areas. Since the change is well established in the north, W. Vermeer[1] has proposed that the N.sg m. of hard stems -*e*, typical of Old Novgorodian texts, was pronounced ['o], undergoing a "retraction of *-*e* (> -*o*, with softening, if possible, of a preceding consonant), in word-final position." The purpose of this paper is to examine what the Birchbark Letters of Novgorod (hereafter BBLs) tell us about this *e* > *o* change, and whether the data fit with Vermeer's hypothesis. We shall first examine the conditions of the change in the old dialects of northern Russian, as they are attested in two kinds of documents: the birchbark letters, found mainly in Novgorod, but also in other cities, which encompass a period extending from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, and a later document, T. Fenne's *Low German Manual of Spoken Russian* (Pskov, 1607). Then we shall apply the conclusions to the case of the N.sg ending.

The BBLs are the only documents from the north largely exempt from the influence of the "literary" language, or of Church Slavonic. Unlike the Novgorodian chronicles, which have the same geographic origin, but reflect a literary norm with fewer dialectal features, the BBLs have no literary pretension. They are short documents, restricted to local use, dealing with material facts of everyday life, written on a cheap and perishable material. The chronicles, by contrast, are lasting monuments, dealing with the nobler events of history. Hence the clear linguistic differences between contemporaneous documents written on the same territory.

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1. Vermeer 1991, 288 and 1994, 154, followed by Birnbaum 1991, 206.

Tönnies Fenne's *Manual* is a very important source of documentation on the neighboring dialect of Pskov.[2] Though later (1607), it is nevertheless precious because Fenne transcribed for his German fellow countrymen sentences he learned from his informants in Pskov. He, too, is dealing with a matter not subject to any literary or religious influence—trade. "His basic purpose was 'to write in the Russian tongue how the Germans should speak with the Russians in Russian when conversing of domestic and daily affairs and of all kinds of business' (p.188)."[3] Thus, he uses many dialectal forms. Above all, what is precious is that he is transcribing Russian into a Roman alphabet, which means that the influence of the orthographic norm (Fenne was familiar with Cyrillic writing, which he uses himself occasionally) is even weaker than in the BBLs. A transcription focuses on the phonetic value, not on graphic conventions. Therefore Fenne and the BBLs are good sources for our knowledge of the earlier dialectal reality.

PART ONE: THE *E* > *O* CHANGE

The first attestations of this change in the literary texts date to the twelfth century, with maybe isolated instances as early as the end of the eleventh century, and are found mainly after palatal consonants: this restricted *e* > *o* change represents the situation found in the southern East Slavic dialects (Ukrainian). But should it be generalized to all of the Early Rusian dialects?

A. THE BIRCHBARKS

Denoting graphically the reflex of *e* > *o* is a difficult problem for a Cyrillic writing system, which allows ‹e›[4] only after a soft consonant (hereafter [C']) and ‹o› only after a hard one. But *e* > *o* yields a new combination ['o], that is, [o] after [C'][5]: the consonant was automatically soft before [e], and this softness was retained when the quality of the vowel changed.[6] Literary

2. Pskov was an important commercial center, and Fenne, himself a German merchant, must have met there many merchants from other parts of Russia. Some non-Pskovian dialectal features are occasionally reflected in the *Manual*, as Fenne's informants changed. But these are the exception rather than the rule.

3. Jakobson's translation, in the Introduction to his edition of Fenne's *Manual*, p. ix.

4. The angle brackets indicate graphic representation.

5. We use the notation ['o] as a convention, although it is inaccurate, for it represents in fact a combination of features belonging to two different phonemes: the consonant (softness) and the vowel.

6. It should be noted here that Vermeer's formulation "retraction of *-*e* (> -*o*, with softening, if possible, of a preceding consonant)" is inaccurate: softening is not a corollary of *e* > *o*; the consonant was already soft before [e]. All *e* > *o* can do is contribute to make softening phonemic, since it allows [C'] before back vowel.

Russian did not indicate this change graphically until recently, and even now does not always use ‹ё›, which consists of a diacritic mark on ‹е›. Another solution is found in Ukrainian: the modern writing system uses a digraph ‹ьо›.[7] The people who wrote the BBLs did not use any diacritic mark or digraph. Their graphic inventory is the Church Slavonic one. Therefore they could use either ‹е›, and continue to indicate the quality of the consonant at the expense of that of the vowel, or ‹о›, and indicate the quality of the vowel at the expense of that of the consonant. The adoption of a new spelling ‹о› had to overcome graphic conservatism and the influence of Church Slavonic, which kept the spelling ‹е›.

We shall start with internal or initial position,[8] the clearest case: in endings and grammatical morphemes, there can always be morphological pressure responsible for an analogy. Since many of these documents show a confusion between ‹е› (and ‹ѣ›) and ‹ь›, and ‹о› and ‹ъ›,[9] cases of unexpected ‹ъ› must be examined too.[10]

I. *e* > *o* in the Root Morpheme

I.1. Under stress: 14 stems (6 after palatal or [c'][11])

з берестомъ 40; жолтого 288; жонку 402, жонкою 703; зелоного 288 (twice); нобомъ 10 (R. небо is a Church Slavonicism, the phonetic form is preserved in нёбо "palate"); цетворты 169; шолкоу 288; въ Торжокъ 358; урокль 724

у ѳодора 153, Смона 413, оу Горегѧ 228; might be mistakes for ѳеодора (ѳеодоро 559), Смеона (Сьмьона 602), Георгъ (Георегиѧ 506); but R. has ['о] (Фёдор, Семён), and the BBLs have the stems Герг- 545, 551, Смен- 534, 622, 689, Фед- 96, 251, 289[12]

7. Only for new [o] after soft consonant (dental) other than palatal, cf. Shevelov 1979, 647ff. The BBL's Смьона 551, Сьмьона 602 have ‹мьо› for [m'eo], not for [m'o].

8. Cases of absolute initial [o], such as къ Офросение 717, Оводокиѧ 506, will not be discussed, for they are not cases of *e* > *o*, but belong to the ѥдинъ / одинъ type, which is not considered here.

9. Zaliznjak 1982, passim.

10. This discussion is based on the word index established by Zaliznjak, NGB 1986 and 1993, and the temporary publication of texts 710–752. It is clear that further discoveries in Novgorod will bring new elements ; I hope they will not change altogether the picture given by the first 752 documents.

11. The dialects of Novgorod and Pskov have only one affricate /c'/, corresponding to both /č'/ and /c'/ of other East Slavic dialects (*cokan'e*). The scribes use indiscriminately the spellings ‹ч› and ‹ц› for this phoneme.

12. These names are a different case: they were borrowed from Greek with an [o], and are not strictly speaking cases of *e* > *o*: от Сьмьюна 198, spelling also found in the chronicles, parallel to Гюргии, shows the difficulties of rendering the Greek sequence [eo], which was achieved

чоронами (черенъ) 167; it cannot be read *чёрён-, because the first [e] could not undergo *e* > *o* before [C'][13], so that the [r] is necessarily hard: if the second ‹o› cannot represent ['o], or a real [o], which is etymologically impossible, it can only be a graphic equivalent for ‹ъ›[14]; the form is чёрънами with only the first [e] undergoing the change.

Here must be added ещо 494: it is in final position, but isolated; it is not a grammatical morpheme, and cannot be subject to any morphological analogy.

I.2. Unstressed: 13 stems (4 after palatal or [c'])

I.2.a) First pretonic position

жона, жоны 474; к Олоскадру 528 = Олександръ; от Потра 53; серобро 420; Стопане 169, 413, 528; чоломъ 243, 301, 307, 362, 370, 413, 467, 491, 610, 694

from Февронья: ѡ Фовронее 415, Фъвърънию 560,[15] ѳъворониа 559, ѳоврониа 545; no form with ‹e›; but [e] is in a labializing environment, before [v] (cf. PIE *newos > novŭ), and this may not be a case of *e* > *o* strictly speaking.

пероstави (переставити, imperative) 283; may be a mistake: there is no other instance of перо-; the preposition передъ is never written with ‹o›.

на Кнажоосторови 324: cf. кнажоостровьчовъ (Dvina, 15th c.); linking vowel **o* reflected as [e] after [C'], and then possibly undergoing *e* > *o*. This case is isolated: [e] is before a vowel. Either we assume that *e* > *o* took place also before back vowel, or we posit a strong morpheme boundary between the two members of the compound, which would allow the same treatment for the first member as in absolute auslaut.[16] It could also be an assimilation to the following [o] (for ‹o› in ‹сто›, see below, I.4.a).

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through the use of the only rounded back vowel admitted after soft consonant, hence ‹ю›. However, the fact that we find both spellings, ‹e› and ‹o›, shows that they have been integrated into the *e* ~ *o* pattern: only the existence of [C'o] from [C'e] can allow the rendition of [C'eo] as [C'o]. In this sense they can be used as indirect evidence for [C'o].

13. Zaliznjak, NGB 1993, 137; mod. Russian чёрен (short adj.) is analogical.

14. The paradigm would be N. черёнъ / G. черна, as dialectal верёх / верха.

15. The second ‹ъ› is a non-etymological one and is merely graphic: the same text has Варъварoу, Ольгъсоу with the same graphic ‹ъ›, which cannot be an anaptyctic vowel; the same applies to 559.

16. Cf. чужоземских "foreign," in a Ukrainian text of 1599 (Shevelov 1979, 153), before [C']: either the compound boundary is strong and the first member treated as if in absolute auslaut, or the form is patterned on other compounds like чужоложство "adultery" (Černihiv 17th c.), where the following consonant is hard.

I.2.b) First posttonic position

черось 474 = через (cf. черось, *Uspenskij Sbornik*, 12th c.); шестора луди 374

from гривьна: гривонъ S.R.2, грив[о]но 349, and maybe also грѣвону, трѣ грѣвоны 366, довѣ гривънѣ (Svin.); the G.pl, with a strong jer, could be the source of a secondary stem гривен- / гривён-; the prominence of this case form is not inconceivable in the case of a monetary unit, which occurs mainly after numerals governing the G.pl. One can compare гривена in Fenne's *Manual* (209). But ‹о› / ‹ъ› may also indicate a hardening of the [v], and have no vocalic value, except in the G.pl.

The position of stress is not known in the case of Терехъ: Терохъ, от Тероха 300 / на Терехѣ 162; possessive adjective (unfinished) въ Терохо[] 300.

I.2.c) Second pretonic position

Фодорку 417: analogy of the base (Федоръ) on the derived hypocoristic.

чолобитие, цъло-: analogy of the simple (челомь бити) on the compound.

чоловѣкъ 24, 43, 99, 167[17]; may be a labialization before [ło][18]; чоловѣкъ is also attested in the *Izbornik* of 1073, earlier than the first reliable cases of *e* > *o*. There is probably an attraction to the pleophonic pattern [oło]. We have a parallel case with цѣловати: Fenne has a form *potzolovat, поцоловать* (179), which is also found in the second chronicle of Pskov: поцоловаша крестъ (223), and in several Novgorodian documents= по хрѣстному чолованью (1412, Zaliznjak 1995, 574), в хрестное цолование (1392, Valk n[o] 46). Since *ě* is never changed to ['o] either in Pskov or in Novgorod, this stem can only be explained by a secondary attraction to the pleophonic pattern.

I.3. Unclear cases

поцостое S.R.17: Zaliznjak quotes the form with a question mark. He suggests this could be a local variant of почестье. But the form would be an absolute hapax. The text is damaged, and this is the end of the legible portion. Thus the form is not reliable.

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17. Since this word is often abbreviated, in many cases the quality of vowel cannot be determined.

18. Cf. Eastern Slovak dialects, where *e* > *o* "after *č*, *c*, before *l* and before labials," Krajčovič 1975, 97.

възъмъ 246: past active participle; it could be read [vz'om], but it might be a misspelling.[19]

I.4. Cases where the change is only apparent[20]

I.4.a) Weak jer or zero

Cases with ‹o› where there is etymologically a weak jer, such as пошьниць 636 (= пъшеницѣ < *пьш-), у бороце 318, etc., do not have ['o]. These forms apparently show a neutralization of jers in weak position in favor of the back jer. Ко сестори 497 does not reflect *e* > *o*: the stem never had any jer, [t] is epenthetical in an original cluster [sr]; сестер- / сестёр- could be reshaped after the G.pl but, unlike for гривьна, there is no reason to assume a privileged position for this case form. The ‹o› is a cluster-breaking vowel, as in Кнѧжоосторови 324, with the same non-etymological ‹o› in the cluster [str].

I.4.b) Second pleophony

This phenomenon, typical of northern dialects, is characterized by the development in *Тъ/ьrТ* groups of an anaptyctic vowel after the liquid, breaking the consonantal cluster: *ТьrьТ*, *ТъrъТ*. In the BBLs the second pleophony is consistent for *ТьrТ* groups in strong position, that is, before a weak jer, less in weak position.[21] It was preserved in modern dialects only in strong position. The same dialects show that the second vowel in strong position could undergo *e* > *o*: lit. R. верёвка, dial. [v'er'ox] (but G. [v'erxa] weak), [skat'er'otka] (from [skat'er'et'] / lit. R. скатёрка from скатерть). The change did not take place in weak position, because the anaptyctic vowel was regularly dropped.

All the instances we have of a spelling ‹ь(е)ръ(о)› are in weak position, where *e* > *o* did not occur. Thus смьръда 247, жьлътое S.R.8, ц[ет]веръ[т]а 710 are not reflexes of the change. There is no reason to suppose for all three a levelling in favor of the strong stem. Therefore it is likely that the spelling ‹ъ› for expected ‹ь› indicates the hard quality of the liquid before hard consonant:[22] cf. чоронами 167, where only the first ‹o› is really a reflex of

19. Zaliznjak, NGB 1993, 149, 244, for whom this letter reflects another dialect.
20. Cases where ‹o› is obviously a mistake are not discussed here.
21. In weak position the second pleophony is more frequent in the older letters, cf. Zaliznjak, NGB 1986, 124–25 and NGB 1993, 267. "Strong" and "weak" apply to the position of the whole group before pleophony.
22. On this problem, cf. Zaliznjak 1991, 135; id., NGB 1993, 266; Malkova 1981, passim.

e > *o*, whereas the second one is an equivalent of ‹ъ›, indicating that the [r] is hard. The only case in strong position is цетверотка 521[23], which probably shows *e* > *o*.

I. 5. Conditions for the *e* > *o* change

The change affects: original **e* (нобомъ), linking vowel (на Кнѧжоосторови), original **ь* in strong position (жолтого, гривонъ), first pleophony (черосъ), second pleophony (цетверотка). In the BBLs **ě* never undergoes the change to [o].

Instances of the change after palatal or [c'] (6 out of 14 in stressed syllable, 4 out of 13 in unstressed position) are neither the majority, nor earlier than others (see IV, below), and it is not legitimate to establish a privileged link between the *e* > *o* change and the palatal feature in the preceding consonant. Therefore the hypothesis that *e* > *o* had two phases, a first one, common East Slavic, after palatal consonant only, and a second one, unknown in Ukrainian, after other consonants, is to be rejected.[24] Thus in root-internal position the *e* > *o* change occurs if the following conditions are present together:

1. [e] must not be followed by a soft consonant.
2. [e] > [o] after any soft consonant; whether the latter is a palatal is not a relevant factor.
3. [e] must be under stress or in the immediately adjacent syllable: of the three instances in second pretonic position, two are clearly analogized after their respective bases, and the attraction to the pleophonic pattern probably accounts for the [o] in чоловѣкъ.

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23. Another form, [че]вт[еро]тк‍ѣ 492, was not taken into account because the reading is not certain.

24. If this is the situation in Ukrainian, it is because Ukr. does not have soft, but hard dentals and labials before [e], and the palatals are the only consonants that are soft in this position; but this is not the case in Russian dialects: the presence of *e* > *o* after consonants other than palatals in the BBLs shows that these consonants were soft before [e], as in other Russian dialects.

II. Non-root morphemes with *e > o*

II.1. Suffixes

There is no instance in stressed syllable,[25] but only examples in first posttonic position:

- past passive participle: (и)[з]обижона 474; окрадони 370, before [C']: levelling; in the other cases the consonant is hard.
- Possessive suffix: оу Аръшъвиц[] 219 (unfinished); before [C']: analogy with the possessive adj. in -овъ.[26]

II.2. Nominal endings

- I.sg: грабьжъмъ 252; с затомъ 568; с плацомо 415; с племенъмъ 417.[27]

There is one instance under stress (грабьжъмъ), and three in unstressed syllable: two in first posttonic, and one in second posttonic (с племенъмъ), where the change has not been observed so far. But it is quite possible that we have here, not a reflex of *e > o*, but a morphological confusion of the hard and soft paradigms: the I.sg is -омь in the hard stems, -емь in the soft stems and the consonantal stems. There is a general tendency to eliminate the consonantal declension. It is true, though, that *n*-neuters have been very well preserved down to mod.R., but cf. D.sg племеню in a parchment text from 1359, which is clearly in analogy with the *o*-stems. And analogy is even easier in the I.sg than in the D.sg, for in the I.sg the ending *-em* is common to *jo*-stems and *n*-stems. Finally, this morphological confusion was backed by cases of *e > o* in tonic or first posttonic syllable, such as плацомо, which fall together with the hard-stem ending. The fact that *e > o* is otherwise attested in this letter (Фодорку, itself analogical) does not preclude morphological analogy.

One can add the fragment []вичомъ 302: the text is damaged, but this is probably an I.sg (or D.pl?). The position of [e] regarding stress is not known, but the syllable is either second or third posttonic. It could be, like

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25. Оставльноиѥ 419 (Church Slavonic text) is not to be read *оставлёние with an inversion of ‹и› and ‹о›, but оставльно, corrected to оставльниѥ without removal of the previously written ‹о› (similar fact in n°2, Zaliznjak, NGB 1993, 124), and is not a case of *e > o*.

26. The case is not isolated: cf. for instance Мосѣовиць in the first chronicle of Novgorod (NPL Syn. 10).

27. The editors' first reading згостомо for 61, a damaged text, has been emendated and the word is to be read (и)зростомо, so that the word does not belong here.

племенъмъ, by morphological analogy: influence of the hard paradigm, and of cases where *e* > *o* occurred in first posttonic position.

- G.pl: рублово 256 (stressed); оу вымолчовъ 248: second posttonic syllable, but this is because of the prefix вы-, otherwise the stem has final stress, so that this form can be influenced by the simple (or forms with other prefixes), or by other G.pl with -овъ.
- D.pl: людомъ 364; first posttonic.

II.3. Pronouns

от ного 370 (twice) / ѥ- 20 times; к ному 10 / ѥ- 11 times; цого 68 (twice) / че- 4 times. All three are in first pretonic position.

II.4. Verbs

There is only one form, поедъмъ 1pl 252, in first posttonic position.

To determine the part of morphological analogy in these forms is not easy, but in some of them it is possible to show that the form is not only phonetic. Cases with ['o] before [C'] are obviously analogical. Letters 219 (ѧръшъвиц[]) and 248 (вымолчовъ) fail to show *e* > *o* in other forms: дежекъ 219, G.pl of дѣжька (the fleeting vowel of the G.pl is subject to *e* > *o*: гривонъ S.R.2), приобижени, бѣють челомъ 248. But when a change occurs, it is consistent and allows for no exception; cf. 288, where *e* > *o* is reflected throughout the letter: if we have only one isolated instance in texts which otherwise do not show *e* > *o*, this unusual situation has to be explained. These could be phonetic spellings in letters otherwise respecting the orthographic norm ‹e›. But these forms have a striking common point: the change is attested in grammatical elements (suffix, ending), whereas stem-internal [e] is left unchanged. It cannot be mere chance that each time the supposed phonetic spelling is found precisely in grammatical elements, where analogy is always a factor, and not in stems, where analogy is much less active: these forms are at least partly morphologically conditioned. This is obvious for ѧръшъвиц[], where ‹o› is before [C']. Of course, morphological analogy presupposes that *e* > *o* has already occurred, since only the phonological change can allow [o] after [C']. Thus these forms are partly morphological, but are relevant even though they are not direct reflexes of the change. Morphology and phonological change work together and converge to merge the hard and soft paradigms. Therefore it is often impossible, in the case of grammatical elements, to determine whether a form is phonological or morphological.

III. Morphemes where *e* > *o* is consistently absent

- 3sg with zero ending (present, aorist): блюдь (present) 411, вонидь (aorist) Zven. 2.
- neuter sg of *jo*-stems (after consonant or vowel): subst. Старо Поле, сртце (= сердце); verbal noun -ние; adj. твое, другое[28]; comparative люче, боле.
- V. sg m.: always ‹e› / ‹ь›: братьче 605, брате 414, 531, брать 68.
- N.sg m. -*e*: never ‹o›; Стопане 169 has *e* > *o* in the stem, but not in the ending.

Does this mean that *e* > *o* does not take place in absolute auslaut? The only example is ещо, which is isolated and not motivated like a grammatical morpheme.

IV. Chronology

12th[1] (1125–1150): 560: ѳъвърънию; 559: ѳъворониꙗ
12th[2]: 724: уроклъ
end 12th–beg. 13th: 545: ѳовроніꙗ; 228: оу Горегꙗ
13th[1]: 153: у ѳодора; 219: оу аръшъвиц[] (дежекъ)[29]
mid-13th: 413: Стопаномь, от Смона, цоломь, цолобитье (N.sg еси пересмотреле, послаль есмь = -ле)
13th[2]: 68: цого (N.sg Местиловь = -ве); 349: грив[о]но; 420: серобро
14th[1]: 53: от Потра (N.sg покосиле); 288: зелоного (twice), жолтого, шолкоу (N.sg золотнике); 324: на Кнꙗжоосторови; 415: ѡ Фовронее, с плацомо (N.sg убиле мꙗ пасынке и выгониле, самь)
mid-14th: 99: [цоловѣка] (N.sg недоборе); 358: въ Торжокъ; 417: Фодорку, с племенъмъ (N.sg Матвѣике)
14th[2]: 167: чоронами, чолобитьѥ, [чоловекъ]; 252: грабьжъмъ, поедъмъ; 256: рублово; 366: грѣвону, грѣвоны (N.sg ꙗковь = -ве); 370: окрадони, от ного, цоломъ (ѥму, N.sg ѥси даль = -ле); 283: перостави (?)
14th (without precise dating): 568: с затомъ; 610: цоломъ
end 14th-beg. 15th: 10: нобомъ, к ному; 43: [цоловѣкъ] (N.sg забыле); 129: цолобитьѥ; 169: цетворты, Стопане N.sg (N.sg Онтане, послале); 362: цоло (N.sg Ондрике); 364: людомъ; 474: черосъ, жона, жоны,

28. The problem of denoting ['o] after a vowel is particularly difficult: the Cyrillic alphabet has no letter for [j], and a spelling ‹своо› for [svojo] is unexpected, but cf. Мосѣовиць in the first chronicle of Novgorod.

29. Forms of the same text which do not show the reflex of *e* > *o* are given between brackets.

изобижона; 491: цолом; 521: цетверотка; 528: СтопАнА, к Олоскадру; 694: цоломъ

15th: 24: [цоловѣкомъ] (N.sg Недѣлекине); 40: з беростомъ; 243: цоломъ (N.sg пришле); 248: оу вымолчовъ (приобижени, челомъ); 300: Терох- (N.sg возилесь быле); 301: цоло, цоломи; 302: []вичомъ; 310: цълобитию (N.sg Нестерке); 307: чоломъ, цоломъ (N.sg печатале); 374: шестора; 402: жонку; 465: цолобитье; 467: цол-; 494: ещо (Еремкинское); S.R.2: гривонъ

These data show that *e* > *o* is scarcely attested before the thirteenth century, and develops really only in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries. One might object that the distribution may be due to other, non-linguistic factors, such as a greater number of preserved documents for a given period, and that these data should be put in terms of proportion of the number of texts found in each layer, and not be viewed in absolute terms. The total number of letters found in the layer 1396–1409 is equivalent to that found in the layer 1197–1224,[30] and yet the latter has only two letters with *e* > *o* for a period of twenty-seven years, whereas the former has eleven in thirteen years. Layers 1238–1268 and 1422–1429 are equivalent for the number of texts, and the latter has five instances of *e* > *o* in seven years, whereas the former has only one in thirty years. Therefore there is no denying that the situation is not uniform over the five centuries covered by the BBLs.

The traditional dating for the change in the southern dialects of East Slavic is the end of the eleventh–beginning of the twelfth century. For the northern dialects, the change would date back to the mid-twelfth century.[31] The BBLs confirm this date, with one instance shortly before 1150 (Фъвърънию, twice, though it probably does not reflect only *e* > *o*), and one in the second half of the century (уроклъ).[32] It is not reflected earlier in stressed than in unstressed syllable: the first of the two forms has the change in pretonic position, the second one has it under stress. But why are the attestations so unevenly distributed chronologically?

Along with the possibility that we are witnessing the progression of the sound change, there might be another explanation: the conservatism of the written norm. Although this was not as important a factor as in the parchment documents, it must have played some role. Dean Worth has studied more

30. Based on the first 540 gramoty studied by Worth 1986.

31. Kiparsky, RHG I, 153.

32. This confirms that възъмъ 246 is probably not a case of *e* > *o*: the text dates back to a time (third quarter of the 11th c.) much earlier than the first reliable instances of the change, even if it can reflect a southern dialect, where the change is traditionally said to have happened earlier than in northern dialects.

specifically the incipits of the BBLs, from which it can be clearly seen that these formulas evolved from a Church Slavonic-type formulation to a more secular one.[33] This change appears to be rather sudden, around the year 1300. This is precisely when the attestations of *e* > *o* become frequent. Is there a correlation? If the radical change shown by Worth is to be attributed, not to a linguistic evolution, which obviously cannot be the case, but to a socio-economic change, the result of which is that the "writing business" becomes more and more independent from the religious authorities, we could expect a secularization of the language as well as of the incipit formulas. If such is the case, we expect to find no instance of *e* > *o* in letters with a religious connection, because *e* > *o* does not belong to the language of the church, and this is what we find in the BBLs. As long as writing was more or less under the control of the church, the orthographic norm ‹e› was ever in the mind of a scribe who was a monk or a priest.

Conclusion

The change *e* > *o* is not attested before the mid–twelfth century. The phonetic process can be seen mainly in root-internal position: in grammatical elements, morphological analogy plays a very important role and the forms are not only phonetic. Clear instances of the phonetic change seem to be limited to three positions: tonic, first pretonic, first posttonic. All the cases in second or third pre- / posttonic can have another explanation.

B. FENNE

The *e* > *o* change is widely attested in Fenne's *Manual*, which consists of a short dictionary, arranged thematically, followed by a conversation handbook. It should be noted that ['o] is far more frequent in the second part, than in the first part: *vedro*, *ведро* (31, 98) but *vödro* (232, 259, 474);[34] pronominal stems almost always have the [e] variant in the first part, the ['o] variant in the second part (его / ёго). Other facts confirm the difference between the two parts, the first of which is closer to the Muscovite literary norm, whereas the second one reflects more faithfully the local dialect: a conversation guide depends on the informants, therefore on a dialectal variant, but a dictionary does not, or does so to a much lesser extent, because other sources can be used, especially written ones.

33. Worth 1984.

34. Fenne uses both ‹o› and ‹ö› for ['o], and sometimes ‹ö› for [o]: there is no apparent distribution rule.

V.1. Other than in absolute final position

The relation of the *e* > *o* change to stress position is discussed below (V.4), but one can see from the examples provided hereafter that it is not restricted to stressed syllables.

- root-internal: *szoltoie*, *жолтое* = желтое (127), *sona* = жена (241) (*szona*, *жона* 40), *sonka* = женка (230) (*szonka*, *жонка* 40), *ttzornoie*, *чорное* = черное (127), *scholk*, *шолк* = шелк (126), *tzölloveck* = человек (202); BBLs have *e* > *o*.
- first pleophony: *berosa*, *бероза* = береза (62), *berög* = берег (427); BBLs have *e* > *o*.
- second pleophony: *veroffka* = веревка (213, 486); BBLs have *e* > *o*.
- fleeting vowel of the G.pl: *dennoch* = денег (325); BBLs have *e* > *o*.
- perfect: *prischoll* = пришел (198), *obumörl* = обумерл (241); BBLs have *e* > *o*.
- possessive suffix: *tzareoff syn* = царев сын (252); BBLs have *e* > *o*.
- Past Passive Part.: *pereplafflona*, *переплавлона* = переплавлена (119), *striszono*, *стрижоно* = стрижено (130), *vstafflona* = уставлена (278); BBLs have *e* > *o*.
- pronominal stems: *iogo* = его (203), *otzum*, *ѡчомъ* = очем (158); BBLs have *e* > *o*.
- nominal endings: I.sg *putum* = путем (207), *tzirtzum* = сердцем (244),[35] G.pl *rubloff* = рублев (395, 418), *obrutzoff* = обручев (356), D.pl *aspodarum* = осподарем (202), L.pl *ffludoch* = в людех (306, 357); BBLs have *e* > *o*.
- 1pl: *soidomsi* = сойдемси (247), *podom* = пойдем (394); BBLs have *e* > *o*.
- 3sg: *tzelom biott* = челом бьет (206), *dovetdotza* = доведется (197); BBLs do not have *e* > *o* (BBLs still have a soft [t']).

V.2. Absolute final position

- *jo*-neuters N.Acc.sg: adj. *virnoio* = вѣрное (331); subst. *more* = море (414), but *solnszo*, *солъньцо* = солнце (31) (but also *solnsa*, *солнца* (32) with *jakan'e*[36]), *pletzo*, *плечо* = плечо (87); BBLs do not have *e* > *o*, so far.

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35. The spelling <u> for [o] is frequent in Fenne.

36. These forms can reflect the merger of [a] and [e] after soft consonant, and it is not necessary to suppose an intermediate stage ['o].

suff. -ие / -ье: *bielie*, *бѣлье* = бѣлье (123) "white lead", but *nakovalio*, *наковалио* = наковалье "anvil" (103), *orudio* = орудье (211, 398), *orudiu* = id. (398)

suff. -ище: *toporitza*, *топорицо* = топорище "axe handle" (103); *stanovistzo*, *становицо* = становище "harbor" (106)

suff. -ние / -нье: *korenie*, *коренье* = коренье "roots" (121), *sproszenia* = спрошенье "request" (214) with *jakan'e*, *sosdanie* = созданье "creation" (479)[37]

NB: Whereas the change is attested for the forms built with the old suffix *-*jo*-, the complex suffix -ние seems exempt from it and always has the ‹e› variant (or the form with *jakan'e*); it must be because the abstract suffix -ние is a frequent one in Church Slavonic (where there is no *e* > *o*), whereas the concrete suffix -ище, for instance, is not susceptible to being influenced by this type of register and therefore shows *e* > *o*.

- adverbs and particles: *iestzo* = еще (301, 441), *vszo* = уже (191, 301), *takso* = так же (202); BBLs have *e* > *o* for еще, but never for же and related forms.
- 3sg with zero ending: always -*e*.[38] BBLs do not have *e* > *o*.
- V.sg m.: always -*e*: *druske* = дружке (324, 375), *batszke* = бачке (196). There are only a few forms. BBLs do not have *e* > *o*.
- N.sg m. : always -*e*: *vinovate* (225, 233, 253). BBLs do not have *e* > *o*.

V.3. Stress and the e > o change in Fenne

V.3.a) Pretonic positions

There is no case of ‹o› for expected ‹e› in second or third pretonic syllable, other than человѣкъ and its derivatives, cf. *duschu tzolovetziu* = душу человѣчью (255), *potzolovat*, *поцоловать* = поцѣловать (179), the G. *sotiroch* = четырех (457),[39] and *iupansa*, *юпанса* "feltcoat" (92) if it is to be read with Jakobson епанча.[40] If the first [e] in *sotiroch* is in second pretonic

37. These forms always have the [e] variant also when they are inflected: *sveetzeniem* = с вѣщеньем (264), *sradeniem* = с радѣньем (264).

38. The only apparent exception is *berodam* (251), but it must be read not бере да(нь), but берё(т) дань with regular simplification of the geminate consonant resulting from a sandhi assimilation: cf. *peretoboi* = перед тобой (210, 356), *spoticha* = (и)спод тиха (415). Though the two words are not as closely linked as a group preposition (clitic) + noun, брать дань is a ready-made phrase, hence the close sandhi treatment.

39. As opposed to *tzetiroch* (418). But the form may be irrelevant, cf. Stankiewicz 1986, 417: the "oblique cases admitted a stem stress as late as the seventeenth century." If so, *e* > *o* in first pretonic is regular.

40. Fenne has other instances of ‹iu› for [jo]: *smetyu*, *сметю* = сметьё (102), *iuß*, *ж* (the name of the letter is *ius*) = ёж (76).

position, the *e* > *o* change here can be readily explained by the analogy of *sotiri* = четыри, where the spelling ‹o› is consistent in first pretonic position. The [o] in чоловѣкъ and поцоловать has been explained above. The position before a labial consonant might account for *iupansa*.[41] But the form has to be compared with *iupa*, *юпа* "coat" (90) (Ukr. юпка, Cz. *jupka*), and *iupansa* is likely to be a contamination of юпа and епанча, so that it may not be an instance of *e* > *o* at all, but the spelling ‹iu› probably represents [ju]. The other instances of [e] in second pretonic syllable are all spelled with ‹e›. For the pretonic position, the restriction in Fenne is the same as in the BBLs: only the first pretonic syllable can undergo *e* > *o*. The only exception in both cases is the position before [ło], where there is clearly an attraction to the pleophonic pattern [oło]: *e* > *o* cannot explain [o] from *ě* in поцѣловать, since *ě* is not subject to *e* > *o* otherwise in Fenne; only a secondary reshaping after the forms with pleophonic [oło] can do so.

V.3.b) Posttonic positions

The few instances of ‹o› for [e] in second posttonic syllable are found in endings, a category most subject to analogical levelling, as we have already seen for the BBLs.

- N.Acc.sg n. of soft stems: because [a] and [e] merge after soft consonant (*jakan'e*), the forms with final ‹a› do not imply an underlying /o/.

adjectives: *rosnolitznoio* = розноличное (215), *virnoio* = вѣрное, *tainoio* = тайное (331); 331 in particular has *virnoio slovo tainoie*, but *virnoie slovu tainoio*; this means that Fenne considered the two n. sg endings *-e* and *-o* to be equivalent, and used them interchangeably. In these conditions he could easily have replaced a form with *-e* by a form with *-o*,[42] under the influence of forms where *e* > *o* occurred in first posttonic or tonic syllable, such as the pronominal adjectives, cf. *suoio* = свое (342).

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41. Cf. Eastern Slovak dialects, where *e* > *o* "after *č*, *c*, before *l* and before labials," Krajčovič 1975, 97.

42. Previously he used the form with *jakan'e vernoia sloua tainoia* (257); this provides another possible key: when he has *slova* = слово with *akan'e*, he uses the form with *jakan'e* for the adjectives; that is, he follows a well-known tendency among students of a foreign language to have the same ending for all the components of a noun phrase. There are other instances of that (cf. *kakim dielim* = каким дѣл(о)м 210). Thus Fenne could use one of two possible variants to obtain this homogenization of the noun phrase. The letters ‹o› and ‹a› are for him equivalent in endings. Cf. also *slasna korienia* = сластно коренье (124), where the *jakan'e* form in the noun favors the *akan'e* form in the adjective. Such could be the case for *vernoio slovo tainoio*: the [o] variant for the noun triggers the [o] variant for the adjectives, although it is not correct. Cf. also *dirsi ty suoie slove virnoie* = держи ты свое слов(о) вѣрное (328), where the *-e* in *slove* (only form of its kind) cannot be explained otherwise.

substantive: *stanovistzo* = становище (106): this word in mod.R. can have either penultimate or antepenultimate stress. Fenne could have either of these two forms. At any rate, this is not a reliable instance of *e* > *o* in second posttonic syllable: even with antepenultimate stress, analogy with other words in -ище, most of which have penultimate stress, and regularly *e* > *o* in first posttonic syllable, was easy.

- I.sg f. *пословицою* (469) cannot be a case of *e* > *o*: the [e] is before [C'] ([j]); it is in analogy with the feminine hard stems; cf. also *sadnoi nogoi*, *садной ногои* = задней ногой (78), *goretzoe*, *горяцое* = горячее (84).
- G.pl: *tovariszoff* = товарищев (316), *obrutzoff* = обручев (356); analogy with the hard stems and the cases where *e* > *o* in first posttonic or tonic syllable, like *rubloff* = рублев (418). There is not a single instance of G.pl *-ev*, which shows that, for Fenne at least, the G.pl was *-ov*, be it after hard or soft consonant.
- I.sg: *tovariszum* = товарищем (363, 435): same explanation.
- 1pl *vuikinum* = выкинем (262): but вы- is the only prefix attracting stress; накинуть, покинуть (both attested in Fenne) have stem stress, so that the 1pl would be накинём, regular in first posttonic syllable. Thus this one is analogical too.
- *tetieroff* = тетерев(ь) "grouse" (67), *iasvetzovy*, *ѣзвецовы* (111) = язвецовы: the suffix *-ev-* is only a variant of *-ov-*, and analogical reshaping after the latter is easy. Though *tetieroff* does not etymologically contain the possessive suffix,[43] it can be analyzed as a derivative in *-ev-* / *-ov-*. It is also possible that it must be read тетеров with a hard [r] (and an [o] not from [e]), attested in other northern dialects: [tet'ora], [tet'orka] in Arkhangelsk (*vs* lit. R. тетеря, тетерька, both with penultimate stress).[44]

Thus the few instances of ‹o› for [e] in second posttonic position are analogical. The [e] not subject to any morphological analogy remains [e] in second posttonic syllable, *e.g. gol(l)oden* = голоден (77, 139). In the same sentence we find *buitt veszoll: rodosten: da poteszon* = будь весел / радостен да потѣшен (226), where *e* > *o* affects the tonic syllable (*veszoll*, *poteszon*), but not the second posttonic (*rodosten*); ‹o› is consistent where we know the change occurred, so that the ‹e› in *rodosten* cannot be attributed to an influence

43. It is originally an *i*-stem, and the *i*-inflection was still found in the 16th c., cf. Unbegaun 1935, 69, 189.
44. Vasmer, REW, s.v.

of Cyrillic spelling.[45] The distribution of [e] and ['o] variants for the Past Passive Participle is: ‹o› or ‹e› in tonic or first posttonic, but only ‹e› in second posttonic syllable. Verbal endings in second posttonic syllable are always spelled with ‹e› or ‹i› (*ikan'e*), never ‹o› (except *vuikinum* 262, cf. above), whereas the change is attested in tonic (*biott* = бьет 206), or first posttonic syllable (*torguiut* = торгует 358, with ‹u› for ‹o›).

Conclusion

The data from Fenne's *Manual* confirm those of the BBLs. The role of morphological analogy is as important. In endings particularly, the spellings cannot be trusted, because Fenne did not master perfectly the case system of Russian and his confusions are numerous. Even so, it seems the change is limited to the same three positions—tonic, first pretonic, first posttonic—as in the BBLs: the few instances in second or third posttonic syllable can all be explained by a plausible analogy; otherwise [e] is preserved in these positions.

C. THE *e* > *o* CHANGE AND VOWEL LENGTH

VI.1. Following consonant

The traditional formulation of the *e* > *o* rule states that the conditioning factors are two at least: after soft consonant, before hard consonant or zero, and sometimes the position of stress. If the environment to the left, "after soft consonant," is the same for all dialects, the environment to the right is different. In fact, the only common point is a negative one: the change does not occur if [e] is before a soft consonant.[46] Thus BBLs' на Кнѧжоосторови (324) can be a case of *e* > *o*, though [e] is not before hard consonant.

45. The first ‹o› represents an [a] under stress, either mistake due to Fenne's generalization of the equivalence ‹o› / ‹a› in unstressed position (*akan'e*), or graphic anticipation of the following ‹o›.
46. Wexler 1977, 111, Shevelov 1979, 143, Andersen 1978, 12.

VI. 2. Prosodic conditions

If the conditioning factor is not a following hard consonant, what is it?[47] Andersen 1978 assumes a diphthongization of lax vowels, and states that this diphthong, after soft consonant, had its first element reanalyzed as part of the preceding palatalized consonant: [C'ɛo] > [C'jo] > [C'o].[48] Only a following sharp consonant (non-grave) could prevent the reidentification of the second element as /o/ (grave). He explains the fact that only some of the original *e's in these conditions underwent the change by a prosodic factor, the length of the diphthong. But diphthongization is intimately linked in itself with vowel duration. German or English had it for long vowels. Romance languages, which Andersen quotes as a parallel, had diphthongization only under stress, that is, only for long vowels, new or old.[49] It seems more adequate to assume that in Slavic, too, it occurred only when the vowel was long. This avoids the problem of an unlikely diphthongization of short unstressed vowels. Thus, length appears to be the real conditioning factor, and the rule can be reformulated as: "*e* > *o* after [C'] in certain prosodic conditions (length), unless followed by [C']."

The hypothesis that length is responsible for *e* > *o* is the most plausible explanation for the restriction of *e* > *o* to the stressed syllable in some dialects. It implies that these dialects had already replaced pitch by a dynamic stress, as Andersen saw it. But what about other dialects? Either the change occurred when the old prosodic system with pitch and independent vocalic quantity was still alive, and in that case we expect the change to affect the originally long vowels alone, or it occurred when this system had been eliminated, and in that case there is no connection between *e* > *o* and old length.[50] The first solution cannot be correct: *e* > *o* affects etymologically short vowels (**e*, **ь*), and only in some dialects the etymologically long **ě*.

47. Shevelov 1979, 159, assumes that *e* > *o* is "essentially an assimilative change. It was a manifestation of the principle of vowel harmony, although on a limited scale, viz. within just two contiguous syllables (disyllabic harmony)." This cannot be exact, for it does not account for the cases of *e* > *o* in absolute auslaut, where [e] has nothing to assimilate to (word final *e* > *o* is attested in some Ukrainian dialects, and of course in Russian and Belarusian). One cannot dissociate the two cases and assume that *e* > *o* in absolute auslaut is to be explained differently from *e* > *o* in internal position.

48. Presumably the palatal appendix of the preceding soft consonant, which could be reinterpreted as the onset of a diphthong, was a key factor in this diphthongization process: where the consonant was not sharp before /e/ (Ukr. for consonants other than palatals), the diphthongization did not take place. This may be why there is no such diphthongization for [o]: the preceding consonant is hard, that is to say, neutral, and has no labial appendix which could lead to the same reinterpretation.

49. The old Latin system with independent quantity and stress was replaced in early Romance by a system where all stressed vowels, and only these, were long.

50. It could also take place during a transitional phase, which is more difficult to determine.

Therefore these vowels must have been secondarily lengthened. Compensatory lengthening is not the cause: it is not reflected in Russian, and anyway it would account for only a fraction of the cases.

The *e* > *o* change in the BBLs and Fenne's *Manual* is clearly limited to three syllables: tonic, first pretonic, first posttonic. The BBLs in particular are precious for this inquiry, because they show no trace of vocalic reduction in unstressed position: this later phenomenon obscures the facts in many dialects. If *e* > *o* is linked with vocalic length, then not only the tonic vowel, but also the first pretonic and first posttonic must have been longer than the other ones. It is understandable that the two vowels closest to stress be longer than the other vowels of the word, if not as long as the tonic vowel itself: the more remote from stress a vowel is, the weaker, and also the shorter; the closer to stress, the stronger and the longer. This may be why the old pretonic length was preserved much better than length in other positions, and why northern dialects of Russian show a distinction of [o] and [a] (*okan'e*) in first pretonic syllable whereas they do not always in second pretonic position.[51]

But this presupposes a dynamic stress: pitch cannot have an effect on the relative duration of other vowels, whether lengthening of adjacent short vowels or shortening of remote long vowels; only a dynamic stress can do so. We are dealing here with a secondary, entirely predictable length, which has nothing to do with the old inherited length. These new long vowels are conditioned only by their vicinity to the stressed syllable. This situation is radically different from the earlier one, in which length was independent from accent, whereas this new length depends on stress. Even dialects where *e* > *o* is not restricted to the stressed syllable must already have had a dynamic stress when the change occurred.

VI. 3. Modern East Slavic languages and dialects

The hypothesis of a restriction to the tonic and immediately adjacent syllables finds some support in the modern data. The few cases of *e* > *o* in second pretonic syllable quoted by Shevelov for Ukrainian are analogical: *šoludyvyj* "scabby" (penultimate stress), is patterned on *šóludi* with initial stress; *čortenjá* "little devil" (final stress), on *čort*.[52] Once more, the only form resisting any explanation by analogy is *čolovík*, but this is probably not *e* > *o*, but a reshaping of the [eło] sequence after the pleophonic pattern [oło] (see above).

51. Orlova 1970, 144.
52. Shevelov 1979, 144–47.

On the other hand, cases of [e] in second pretonic position with "an irregular *e*, while the phonetic conditions make us expect *o*"[53] are no longer "irregular" if *e* > *o* did not take place in second pretonic position. The situation in Russian and Belarusian is comparable. There does not seem to be any instance in second pretonic syllable that could not be reshaped after the base form. All the cases of *e* > *o* in second or third posttonic position are restricted to endings and suffixes, and are thus explainable by analogy. It is clear that the ['o] variant of endings was generalized:[54] these are not real cases of *e* > *o* but secondary developments.

It is therefore possible that the restriction that [e] not be distant from the tonic by more than one syllable was once effective in all East Slavic dialects, and that the original distribution was eliminated by analogy. The case of the shortening of *ě* > *e* in "pre-pretonic syllable" (i.e. second or third pretonic) in Ukrainian, whereas it was not shortened in first pretonic position,[55] supports the hypothesis of a particular status for the latter: it implies that length was eliminated first elsewhere than in those positions where an inherited long vowel could survive longer, protected by the vicinity of stress.

That some dialects do not show *e* > *o* in final position is probably to be explained with Andersen by the fact that they did not tolerate final long vowels, either original (hence shortening) or secondary (hence the absence of diphthongization), even under stress. This may go along with a better preservation of pretonic length than of posttonic length in general. The fact that some dialects apparently do not have *e* > *o* even under stress is not an objection. The situation here is not clear: in these dialects the number of cases of [e] preserved under stress is very small; they are exceptions among a large majority of [o] in the same environment.[56] Do they represent an archaism, in which case forms with *e* > *o*, which constitute the majority, are borrowings from other dialects or due to "analogical levelling"?[57] Analogy is obviously a factor, but explains [e], not ['o]: most of the instances of stressed [e] before hard consonant[58] can be related to a form where [e] is either unstressed or before soft consonant. There are comparable instances in literary Russian: the N.pl ветлы is reshaped after the G.pl ветел, dialectal G.pl [v'otel] after the

53. Shevelov 1979, 146.
54. The same development took place extensively in Ukrainian, cf. Shevelov 1979, 648–49.
55. Shevelov 1979, 112.
56. Orlova 1970, 22, who also points out that these are mainly peripheral dialects.
57. Andersen 1978, 4; but one wonders about the source of the analogy, if these dialects had no *e* > *o* at all.
58. Orlova 1970, 157; Filin 1972, 196.

N.pl [v'otly],[59] and nobody assumes on these grounds that literary Russian did not know the *e* > *o* change under stress[60].

The case of dialects where *e* > *o* affected *ě* only when unstressed does not contradict the assumption that there was a diphthongization in the required length condition (under stress or in immediately adjacent syllable). It does not mean that first pre- / posttonic *ě* was longer than tonic *ě*. It is traditionally assumed that *ě* under stress yielded a tense [e], whereas it was interpreted as a lax [ɛ] in unstressed position, merging with original *e*. Tense vowels are less subject to diphthongization than lax ones. Thus we can assume that *ě* realized as a tense [e] under stress did not diphthongize, but, realized as [ɛ], did in the proper length conditions (first pre-/posttonic syllable), and remained unchanged in other unstressed positions, where it had been shortened. Thus the diphthongization of long vowels is posterior to the split of original *ě*, which attests the elimination of the inherited length distinction, and therefore to the rise of the dynamic stress. In some dialects the change also affected a stressed *ě*: [tel'oga] (телѣга), [bes'oda] (бесѣда).[61] This implies that *ě* had merged with *e* in all positions when *e* > *o* occurred.

Conclusion

It seems that, even in the dialects where the process had its largest scope, *e* > *o* was originally restricted to three positions: tonic, first pretonic, first

59. Borkovskij-Kuznecov 1965, 134.

60. The case of Ukrainian dialects without the reflex of *e* > *o* for an old tonic strong (before a weak jer) **e* (*med* < *médъ), whereas they have it for neo-acute (originally pretonic) **e* (*nis* < **n'uos* < *nlesъ) does not mean that in these dialects the first pretonic was longer than the tonic and that the latter did not undergo the change, for they have regularly *e* > *o* under stress after palatal consonant (*žovtyj* = R. жёлтый); therefore this has to do with the nature of the preceding consonant and not with the position of stress. Besides, [e] in *nlesъ was no longer pretonic by the time of the change: the neo-acute retraction is Common Slavic, whereas the *e* > *o* change is not. That the same dialects have *med* (without *e* > *o*) and *nis* (with *e* > *o*) must be explained by the fact that the neo-acute retraction yielded a longer vowel than did the ordinary compensatory lengthening, cf. neo-acute [ô] in northern Russian dialects. But the system did not have three distinct quantities, and thus the vowel with an intermediate status fell into one of the two categories, viz. long and short vowels. In some dialects the [e] in *médъ was treated as a long vowel, as the [e] in *nlesъ, and the preceding consonant remained soft before this long [ē], as before the other long front mid vowel *ě*, hence *e* > *o* in both cases, even after non palatal consonant. In other dialects the [e] in *médъ, not as long as the neo-acute of *nlesъ, was treated as a short vowel and the preceding consonant remained soft only before neo-acute [ē], as before *ě*, but became plain (hard) before the old strong [e], as before a short [e], hence *e* > *o* in one case only. That this [ē] was longer than a weak [e], even under stress and undergoing *e* > *o* (after palatal consonant only), is shown by the reflexes of both: the latter yields a non-diphthongal outcome [o], [ē] yields a diphthong which is preserved in some dialects (after any consonant, palatal or not), and monophthongized in others.

61. Filin 1972, 194, who points out that all instances under stress cannot be explained by analogy.

posttonic, in other dialects it is even more restricted. This is based on the analysis of the facts in the BBLs and in Fenne, where all the instances in second posttonic position are "represented only in endings, and therefore unreliable,"[62] and can be explained by an analogical extension of the ['o] allophone. The only instance in second pretonic syllable can be explained otherwise. We do not mean hereby that all dialects had the change in these three positions, which obviously was not the case. The BBLs and Fenne represent two geographically close dialects, and the indications they provide cannot be readily generalized to all East Slavic dialects. But the situation in dialects where *e* > *o* seems independent from stress can always be derived from the situation found in these documents, that is, from a stage where the change was limited to these three positions: analogy has obscured the original distribution.

This suggests that there could have been a stage with a special prosodic status for the first pre- / posttonic position, namely that these syllables may have been longer than other unstressed vowels; in some dialects an [e] of this intermediate type was treated like a long (stressed) [e] and diphthongized, in other dialects it was treated like a short (unstressed) [e]. This stage with longer first pre- / posttonic syllables has nothing to do with the old prosodic system with pitch and quantity. It must be posterior to the rise of a dynamic stress, which is the only way to explain this secondary length for originally short vowels, even in dialects where *e* > *o* is not restricted to stressed syllables.

PART TWO: THE N.SG M. *-e*

Let us now apply these conclusions to Vermeer's hypothesis that *-e* was realized as ['o] in the N.sg m. As was said above, this category does not show *e* > *o*. After all, however, ‹e› is also a possible conservative spelling for ['o]. Yet a conservative spelling is difficult to admit for a purely dialectal ending: *-e* is found neither in Church Slavonic nor in literary Old Rusian; since in any case it does not conform to the norm, the only possible spelling is the phonetic one. Furthermore, there are arguments to suggest that in the case of the N.sg m., what was written ‹e› was really pronounced [e], and not ['o].

62. Wexler 1977, 112: though his formula does not apply to this analogical process on the whole, but only to cases of [c'o] in Belarusian, it is generally true.

VII.1. Inconsistencies in writing?

The ending *-e* of the N.sg m. is mostly an archaic feature, predominant in the eleventh–twelfth centuries,[63] then gradually replaced by *-ъ / -o*, the regular Slavic ending. If we admit the date of the mid–twelfth century for the *e > o* change, it is possible that the ending *-e* was realized as ['o] from 1150 on, but written ‹e› all the way down to the most recent period. But then why do all the letters with *e > o* have only ‹e› (‹ь›) for the N.sg m.? The best instance is Стопане 169: the same word shows the different status of the two [e]'s, but cf. also 24, 43, 53, 68, 99, 243, 288, 300, 307, 310, 362, 366, 413, 415, 417; 413 is consistent in having ‹o› for ['o] (4 times) but has ‹e› (‹ь›) twice for the N.sg m., and the same holds true for 288. Thus the BBLs themselves indicate that this ‹e› was not a ['o]. This is confirmed by Fenne.

VII.2. Fenne

Fenne has some relic forms with the N.sg m. ending *-e* (*vinovate* 208, *same* 203, *ostales* 211 etc.),[64] and it is never written ‹o›. This is not because of the special status of *-e* in absolute auslaut, even unstressed: cf. n. *solntzo* = солнце, *orudio* = орудье, with *e > o*. Neither is it due to any literary influence, as for the suffix -ние: the standard language, and the church language, do not know the dialectal ending *-e*. Fenne's testimony shows that the N.sg m. ending *-e* was not pronounced ['o].

VII.3. Modern dialects

Some northern dialects preserve even nowadays relics of the N.sg m. ending *-e*: [ps'e] (Pskov), [voronk'e], [bratk'e] (Olonec)[65]: these forms have a final ['e], not ['o]. Either *e > o* took place and something subsequently "undid" the phonetic change, or *e > o* never applied to the N.sg m. *-e*. No phonetic change or morphological analogy could possibly have changed an ['o] to ['e]. Therefore the second solution is the only one left: this *-e* was a regular [e] since the time of the BBLs, and one cannot assume that the N.sg m. ending written ‹o› or ‹ъ› represents ['o]: it can only be the "standard" ending -ъ > Ø.

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63. Zaliznjak 1986, 63.

64. Schaeken 1992; *-e* is best preserved after a consonant cluster, where the standard ending -ъ > Ø would have altered the shape of the word, either because of cluster simplification or by insertion of a fleeting vowel.

65. Zaliznjak 1991, 233 and NGB 1993, 210; as was the case for Fenne, N.sg m. *-e* is preserved when a consonant cluster precedes.

As a matter of fact, ‹o› appears mainly in texts which otherwise show the confusion between ‹o› and ‹ъ›.

The reasons why this [e] did not undergo the change are not explained hereby. It is clear from ещо 494 and Fenne's data that it cannot be related to the absolute final position.

VIII. Phonetic or Morphological Explanation?

VIII.1. Phonetic explanation: the problem of the quality of the preceding consonant

There could be a possible explanation found in the fact that *e* > *o* happens only after soft consonant. But it is not clear whether the consonant was really soft before the *-e* of N.sg m. Of course, softness is not indicated in the writing system, but it has been proposed that the consonant may have been, at some point in history, neutral before *-e*: velars are never replaced by palatals before this ending, whereas in the Vocative they are. This led Zaliznjak[66] to propose that the ending was initially [ə], which later on merged with [e]. The reason why *e* > *o* does not affect the N.sg m. *-e* could then be that it was not after a soft consonant. Could the dialect of Novgorod have [e] both after soft and hard consonant, the latter only in one isolated case form? This would be very unusual, to say the least, for a Slavic dialect.

Several facts make it unlikely that the consonant was hard before the *-e* of N.sg: Pskovian *jakan'e* in final position affects also the N.sg; and *jakan'e* being the neutralization of unstressed vowels after soft consonants, N.sg m. forms like ИевА, ФилипА, дворА,[67] attested in Pskovian documents from the fourteenth century on, imply [C'e]. Fenne has similar forms: N.sg m. *sapovedanæ, saklikanæ* = заповѣдане, закликане (408); ‹æ› is his regular way of denoting ['a], cf. *otmenæ* = от меня, *opæt* = опять etc. Modern dialectal forms preserving the archaic ending *-e* also have a soft stem-final consonant.

In the BBLs there are only a few forms showing *jakan'e*, and none of them is a N.sg m. But we have no reason to believe that the situation was different from the Pskovian one, and that the consonant was soft before *-e* in one place and hard in the other. Furthermore, if one follows Zaliznjak's analysis[68] of the form меретве 582 (13th century[2]), the second ‹e›, which is the equivalent of ‹ь› (second pleophony in weak position), indicates that the preceding [r] is

66. Zaliznjak 1988, 170; id. 1991, 235.
67. Zaliznjak 1991, 235.
68. Zaliznjak 1991, 235.

soft, assimilated in softness to the following consonant, or consonant cluster. Therefore the form is [m'er't'v'e], with [C'] before *-e* as early as the thirteenth century.

More convincing evidence against the hypothesis of a preceding hard consonant can be found in the BBLs: forms which have the ending *-e* for N.sg, if they have an [e] in the preceding syllable, never show the effect of *e* > *o* for this predesinential [e]: дешеве 424 (mod.R. дешёвый), меретве 582 (mod.R. мёртвый), Петре 343, 506 (mod.R. Пётр, cf. Потра 53), свекре 580 (mod.R. свёкор) etc. With the ending -ъ / -Ø, the change is attested (уроклъ 724, second half of the twelfth century), whereas it is not with the ending *-e* (рекле 748, second half of the twelfth century). This can be readily explained by the fact that the predesinential [e] was before a soft consonant. Of course, it can as well simply reflect graphic conservatism: other forms of these words also have ‹e›, even before hard consonant (n. дешево 404, G.sg Петра 220 etc.). But the fact that the ending *-e* is *never* found together with the *e* > *o* change in the predesinential syllable, in words which regularly have ['o], is probably not the result of mere chance, but is likely to indicate that the consonant was soft before *-e*.

We find a confirmation in Fenne with the doublet *vperles: vporsi* = уперлесь / упёрси (357),[69] or the Past Passive Participle *chitrene* = хитрене (305) *vs schitron* = схитрён (320, 378), parallel to the pair уроклъ / рекле found in the BBLs. Fenne does not have many forms with N.sg *-e* and an [e] in the preceding syllable, but when such forms occur, the predesinential [e] never undergoes *e* > *o*, whereas it does regularly with the regular zero-ending. It is true that the same forms are also attested without *e* > *o* with the zero-ending: *schitren* = схитрен (339), *priveszen* = привезен (275). Since we know the change took place in these cases, the spelling ‹e› must be viewed as an influence of the Cyrillic spelling, which Fenne was familiar with. But this cannot apply to the cases with N.sg *-e*: none of these forms is attested elsewhere with ‹o› in the predesinential syllable; the change is consistently absent. Above all, the fact that Fenne himself gives explicitly уперлесь / упёрси as a doublet shows that it is not a matter of spelling. When he gives doublets of this type, he faithfully mirrors phonetic reality. If he never writes ‹o› in these forms, we must assume that this was not an ['o]: the spelling ‹e› in the predesinential syllable is phonetic. The same probably applies to

69. The second form is based on упёр < *уперлъ. One can compare заперлесь (209), поперлесь (209, written *popererles*), where the ending *-e* blocks again the *e* > *o* change in the predesinential syllable. The forms *saperse, poperse* = за-, поперся (177) do not show *e* > *o*, but it is probably because they are given in the first part of the *Manual*, the vocabulary, which, as was already said, is more conservative and reflects more the standard norm than the Pskovian dialect from this point of view.

privesanœ = привезене (416) *vs priveszon* = привезён (276, 323), but here the spelling ‹a›, misspelling or reflex of *jakan'e*, obscures the facts.

Thus the consonant before *-e* had to be soft early enough to block the *e* > *o* rule in the preceding syllable.[70] Whether the consonant was always soft before the ending *-e* or was initially hard and softened only afterwards, this cannot explain the absence of *e* > *o* in the N.sg, because it was already soft at the time of the change, that is, no later than the twelfth century.

VIII.2. Morphological explanation

VIII.2.a) A problem of stress?

A possible answer to the problem lies in the relation to stress. The only instance of *e* > *o* in word final position in the BBLs is ещо, where [e] is under stress. But the position of stress varies in the case of the N.sg m. *-e*: it can be assumed that in most cases, the ending was not stressed. If in many cases [e] was in first posttonic position (внуке 289, заходиле 705 etc.), where *e* > *o* is regular, in many cases too the ending was in second posttonic (виделе 154, игоумене 605, пасынке 415), or even third posttonic syllable (выгониле 415), where *e* > *o* is not expected. A purely phonetic application of the rule would have led to a split between two variants of the same ending, *-e* and *-o*. In such a situation one would expect one of the allomorphs to be generalized, morphological coherence overcoming the purely phonetic developments.

It is true that there are instances in the BBLs where the change took place in a nominal ending, with the result of two allomorphs: I.sg плацомо 415, G.pl вымолчовъ 248, D.pl людомъ 364. But this is a different case: the two variants -омь and -емь, -овъ and -евъ, -омъ and -емъ already existed in the system, corresponding to the distinction between hard and soft stems; once the softness correlation is established, -омь and -емь are predictable allophones. The change in these cases did not create a new ending; rather, the ending fell together with the already existing hard variant: the form was still unmistakably I.sg, G.pl, D.pl. But for the N.sg m. there was no such thing.

70. Thus Schaeken 1992, 287 is right in assuming that the form *rosvogel* (441) stands for розвёгл, as Jakobson has it, but probably wrong when he says that "die Emendation *rosvogle* natürlich durchaus möglich ist": the very fact that this form shows *e* > *o* in the predesinential syllable precludes the possibility of the ending *-e*. The ‹e› must be a cluster-breaking vowel. But *розвёгле is an impossible form: the only two possible forms for the perfect are розвёгл and розвегле. The form *rosvogel* has the regular zero-ending. The final ‹ь› in the Cyrillic spelling жжоголь (245) does of course not indicate that the consonant is soft: Fenne never indicates the softness of consonants, be it before vowels or before consonants or in final position; here he simply follows the orthographic rule that no word ends with a consonant, and uses any of the jer letters: cf. his different spellings for the perfect всталь (492), перемѣтиль (445) / былъ (488).

The ending had no counterpart: the N.sg m. of soft stems was -ь, that is, -Ø, the "standard" equivalent for the hard stems -ъ, also -Ø at the time of *e* > *o*,[71] which could be *written* ‹o›, but was not *pronounced* [o]. The problem is that *-e* is not here the characteristic of the soft type, but of the hard type, so that the variants could not be interpreted according to the allophonic relation between hard and soft endings.

VIII.2.b) Gender distinction

But the main reason why the ending *-e* did not participate in *e* > *o* is certainly that *-o* is the neuter ending *par excellence* in Slavic. No animate stem has *-o*, except names in -ко, but proper names are a category of their own from the morphological point of view, and these hypocoristics are etymologically neuters, even though they were no longer perceived as such synchronically.[72] Because of the special status of appellatives, they were too isolated to serve as a model for a new ending *-o*. In fact, the ending *-o* was so uncommon for masculines that in the BBLs even these names in -ко analogically take the ending *-e*, after other masculines: cf. N.sg Иваноке In.20, Лазъвке 105, Михеике 521 etc. The old N.sg in -ко is attested in the BBLs, but there is only a handful of examples, found mainly in texts which otherwise have the zero-ending for the N.sg m., and not *-e*, or show other non-Novgorodian features: Гавъко 502, Мѣкѣфорко 314, Осипоко 477. These are the "standard" forms, showing probably that the persons bearing names in -ко instead of dialectal -ке were of non-Novgorodian origin. The regular dialectal form was -ке, and not the inherited -ко. With this development, Old Novgorodian was eliminating the only exception to the distribution of *-o*, and following an old tendency. Common Slavic has redistributed masculine and neuter endings *-o* and *-ŭ* for the N.Acc.sg, regardless of the regular phonetic outcome, and has reorganized the system around a clear-cut opposition: neuters have *-o*, whether etymologically *s*-stems or thematic stems, masculines have *-ŭ*, whether old *u*-stems or thematic stems. Thus *-o* is precluded for a non-neuter stem. A N.sg m. ending *-o* is impossible in a Slavic language, except for appellatives, which are not subject to the same set of rules. And even though the case system of Old Novgorodian differed to a certain extent from

71. Zaliznjak, NGB 1993, 264.

72. The hypothesis that names in -ко are not etymologically neuters, but masculines, and that this is a reflex of PIE **-os* > *-o* in word-final position (Vermeer 1991) is hard to accept: the well-known affinity between hypocoristic formations, often used as appellatives, and neuter gender is attested in other Indo-European languages, such as Greek (cf. *paidion*, *Euripidion*, mod.G. *paidi*, *koritsi*) or German (cf. *fräulein, söhnchen, Gretchen*); all the Slavic languages use -ко for hypocoristics (Vaillant, GCLS 4, 390–92), especially for kinship terms (Bulg., S.Cr., Pol.), which is exactly parallel to the use of *-chen* in German or *-ion* in Greek.

that of other Slavic dialects, the restriction of *-o* to neuters was as valid as anywhere else, if not more, as is shown by the new forms in -ке mentioned above. The reason for the absence of *e* > *o* in the N.sg m. is not phonetic, but morphological: the change was not allowed by the gender system of the language.

VIII.2.c) Morphological consequences of the e > o change in modern Russian

It is clear that the *e* > *o* change played an important part in the confusion of the soft and hard types in favor of the hard type: it always merges the soft variant with the hard one. This is a unidirectional change. If one compares what has been proposed by Mareš,[73] viz. that all Slavic languages tend to unify the soft and hard types, but languages without softness correlation tend to generalize the soft endings, whereas languages with correlation tend to generalize the hard endings, the link is clear: only languages with correlation have *e* > *o*, and this change appears to be a factor of generalization of the hard type endings. How important this factor really was cannot be estimated, but its role was certainly far from negligible. The change introduced the hard ending into the soft paradigm, whereas no parallel sound change introduced the soft ending into the hard paradigm.[74] Thus the originally hard ending could be found both in the hard and in the soft paradigms, whereas the originally soft ending was still limited to soft stems. Consequently the variant with the larger extension was generalized at the expense of that with the lesser extension, and the soft paradigm adopted the endings of the hard paradigm. The phonetic change introduced this innovation in a certain number of case forms only, but once the originally soft and hard endings had merged in these case forms, the extension of the hard variant could spread to other case forms analogically.

One could object that in modern Russian, for the cases with desinential vowels [e], [o], the hard and soft paradigms do not merge: the I.sg, G.pl still have -ом / -ем, -ов / -ев.[75] But this is only apparent, for [e] in the soft paradigm is only a realization of an unstressed underlying /o/, so that the ending is in fact the hard paradigm's ending. Thus the change appears to be an important factor in the reshaping of nominal paradigms.

73. Mareš 1968.

74. The opposite process is attested in the BBLs, where soft endings have been extended in some cases to the hard paradigm. It would be too long to discuss this point here. We consider here literary Russian.

75. The G.pl is a particular case, because of the redistribution of -ев and -ей in mod. R. Because of the extension of the *a*-stems' endings in the D.I.L.pl, mod. R. has lost the opposition -ом / -ем in the D.pl: this reshaping of the plural is posterior to *e* > *o* (see above, II.1.).

Conclusion

The *e* > *o* change is attested in the BBLs from the twelfth century on. This corresponds to the traditional chronology. However, it is mainly attested in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The presence of *e* > *o* in the BBLs proves that the softness correlation was phonemic: once /Co/ and /C'o/ can contrast, the phonemic status is unquestionable. The change was restricted to the stressed syllable or the immediately adjacent syllable (first pre- / posttonic), provided the preceding consonant was soft and the following one was not. From the phonetic point of view, it is likely that it was a diphthongization process, and as such affected only long vowels: but since both **e* and **ь* are etymologically short vowels, we have to assume that they were secondarily lengthened. This secondary length is impossible to explain under the old prosodic system with pitch and independent quantity, whereas it is readily understandable under the new system with dynamic stress, in which the old length distinctions have been eliminated. The positional restriction could mean that the first pre- / posttonic syllables were, or had been in an earlier stage, longer than the other unstressed vowels, and were treated in some dialects as long vowels, in others as short vowels. The only case with [o] from [e] in another position (чоловѣкъ) probably does not reflect *e* > *o*; for endings, morphological analogy interferes with the phonological development. The same is true of seventeenth century Pskovian, as it is reflected in Fenne's *Manual*. Finally, it is likely that this change had an important role in the reshaping of the Russian morphological system.

Nothing allows us to assume that the N.sg m. -*e* was realized as ['o]: the BBLs themselves, Fenne's testimony, Pskovian documents, and modern dialects all agree on a phonetic value ['e]. The ending written ‹о› (‹ъ›) in the BBLs is the "standard" ending, that is, the regular Slavic -*ъ* (> Ø), and does not represent ['o] < [e]. The N.sg m. ending -*e* was never changed to ['o]. The reason is probably that -*o* is characteristic of neuter stems: an ending -*o* for masculines was precluded by the morphological system.

École Pratique des Hautes Études

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The Circulation of Information about Ivan Vyhovs'kyj

DAVID A. FRICK

"... I have uncovered the secret
that Vyhovs'kyj is odious to all."[1]

—Report of the royal envoy
Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski
to King Jan Kazimierz, February 1658.

In 1658, near the end of his amicable relations with Moscow, Ivan Vyhovs'kyj—Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj's one-time secretary, now his successor in the hetmancy—complained to an envoy that his letters were not getting through to the tsar.[2] Even worse, the tsar's closest advisers were deceiving their master: the highly influential state chancellor or *dumnyj djak* Almaz Ivanov had taken a dislike to Vyhovs'kyj (so Vyhovs'kyj claimed), and he was having Vyhovs'kyj's letters copied in a purposefully corrupt form and offering these to the tsar as the real thing.[3] Asked how he knew this, Vyhovs'kyj replied that he had fulfilled more or less the same function for Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, and that he had always distorted the letters of *his* political enemies:

He (so he says), the hetman [i.e., Vyhovs'kyj], when he was in the secretary's office under the previous hetman, Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, and whoever was his enemy and should write about anything to the hetman, he would read not what was

1. *Pamjatniki* 1852:224: "doszedłem ia tego sekretu że u wszystkich Wyhowski *in odio*."

2. *Akty* 1863:137: "Къ сему же усумнѣвается о милости его царского величества, что ни на едино писаніе отписи не имѣлъ. . . . писалъ азъ емъ, рече, побѣдивъ Пушкаря, черезъ Василія Петровича Кикина, и на то нитъ ничего; то все, говорить, или листы мои не доходять, или что иного дѣлается,—невѣмъ."

3. *Akty* 1863:163: "которые де листы онъ, гетманъ, посилаетъ къ великому государю къ его царскому величеству, о всякихъ потребныхъ дѣлехъ Войска Запорожского, и тѣ де листы при немъ, великомъ государѣ, принимаетъ у посланцовъ ево посольской думной дьякъ Алмазъ Ивановъ, а при царскомъ величествѣ тѣхъ подлинних листовъ не прочитаетъ, а проноситъ къ нему великому государю съ тѣхъ ево листовъ списки; а онъ де, думной діакъ Алмазъ Ивановъ ему, гетману и всему Войску Запорожскому недоброхотный, и чаетъ де онъ, гетманъ, что онъ, думной діакъ къ великому государю къ его царьскому величеству, взноситъ списки съ ево листовъ не подлинные, каковы листы онъ посилаетъ къ великому государю къ его царскому величеству."

written: he would read what would make the hetman angry at that person who wrote about anything.[4]

This report, preserved in the papers of a Muscovite embassy to Rus′, raises two main questions to which I would like to devote my attention here. First, in what ways and to what ends did Vyhovs′kyj manipulate information? What kind of picture can we form of the secretary/hetman as a man involved in the collection, evaluation, and transmission of politically useful communications? And second, what are the implications of such strategic manipulations of the truth for our assessment of the historical record? Note that the report cited above reflects—or may reflect—possibly competing reformulations of the message. It contains Vyhovs′kyj's own complaint, which itself may give us some access to the secretary's life in politics. But it also reflects the incursions of at least one reporter/translator ("а онъ де"), who, if we believe this version of Vyhovs′kyj's complaint, may well have belonged to those who invented self-incriminating reports for their enemies. In addition to any doubts that Vyhovs′kyj would have permitted himself this sort of candor at just this moment, we are faced here, at the least, with the interpretative problems posed when Cretans claim that all Cretans are liars.

My comments here will seek to evaluate the ways in which the players and the sources narrated, how they hid and revealed information about this individual and his goals. As such, this essay will head in two directions—negative and positive. On the one hand, it will attempt to cast doubt on the bases for our knowledge about who Vyhovs′kyj was. On the other hand, it will seek in the narrative peculiarities of the sources, in the ways the witnesses sometimes seem inarticulate or mendacious, some small indications of how these political games were played and of Vyhovs′kyj's performances in them.

Before I address these two, ultimately interrelated sets of issues, a few words on what we know of this turbulent life are in order.[5] Vyhovs′kyj was born around the beginning of the seventeenth century. I have encountered one

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4. *Akty* 1863:163: "Онъ де, гетманъ, какъ былъ при прежнемъ гетманѣ при Богданѣ Хмельницкомъ въ писарехъ, и онъ, кто будетъ ему недругъ, а пишетъ о чомъ къ гетману, и онъ читалъ не то, что писано,—читалъ чѣмъ бы гетмана розсердитовать на того, кто о чемъ пишетъ."

5. Vyhovs′kyj has not received much attention. He has appeared mostly on the margins of investigations more centrally concerned with Bohdan Xmel′nyc′kyj and the Uprising. Perhaps the best overview of his life remains Antonovyč 1885. Herasymčuk (1904, 1909, and 1928) offered perceptive studies of three crucial "moments" in Vyhovs′kyj's life: his succession to the hetmancy, the negotiations surrounding the Treaty of Hadjač, and his death. See also Senjutovyč-Berežnyj 1970, Budzynovs′kyj 1907, Ekzempljarskij 1892, Korenec′ 1900, Kostomarov 1903.

claim (in the Polish *Great Encyclopedia*) that the Vyhovs'kyjs were Uniate, but I have been unable to determine the basis for that assertion.[6] It does not seem to appear, for example, in Samijlo Velyčko's *Skazanie*, where it would have fit well the author's portrayal of the future secretary/hetman as a creature of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, nor does the family name appear in the 1603 list of Uniate *szlachta* cited by Lypyns'kyj (1912:99–111).

Vyhovs'kyj was to receive some of his earliest training at the Brotherhood School in Kiev.[7] The oldest records of which I am aware place Vyhovs'kyj (to whom the epithet "noble lord" ["шляхетный панъ"] was given) as the "representative of the vice-*starosta* of Luc'k" ("намѣстникъ подстар. Луцкаго"). These records cover the years 1627–1636.[8] He took part in the battle at Žovti Vody at the beginning of the Cossack uprising in 1648, on the Polish side, in forces under the command of Crown Grand Hetman Mikołaj Potocki. He was taken prisoner by the Tatars and later given over to Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj.

In his article on Vyhovs'kyj in the Brokgauz-Efron encyclopedia, F. A. Ekzempljarskij claimed quite simply that Xmel'nyc'kyj had ransomed his future secretary and successor at the cost of a horse. Velyčko (1926:167) had written "at an insignificant price, or, according to the account of old people, for one horse." This allegation belonged to those interpretative traditions (found on both sides of the issue) that sought to place distance between Xmel'nyc'kyj and Vyhovs'kyj. A *gramota* given Vyhovs'kyj by King Jan Kazimierz at the Warsaw Sejm of 4 June 1659 recounted Vyhovs'kyj's exploits up to his "return" to Polish allegiance in terms that were positive from the Polish point of view. Certainly Vyhovs'kyj had some influence over the shape of this account. It is here that we learn of Vyhovs'kyj's loyal service to the Polish army, of his participation in the battle of Žovti Vody, of his capture by the Tatars, and of his eventual appearance at Xmel'nyc'kyj's side. In this account, Vyhovs'kyj and the horse passed between two different Tatar captors, not between the Tatars and Xmel'nyc'kyj. Also in this account, Vyhovs'kyj appeared as a reluctant servant of Cossack affairs—first as Xmel'nyc'kyj's prisoner and then, after he had convinced the hetman to trust

6. See *Wielka* 1969:551.

7. See Vyhovs'kyj's own statements to this effect in *Akty* 1878:738.

8. *Arxiv* 1883:582, 605, 611, 614, 645, 660, 694, 697, 703, 717. This may have been the office Velyčko was referring to when he made Vyhovs'kyj a "secretary for a Polish commissioner" before the Uprising. See Velyčko 1926:166. But it is also possible that there were two Ivan Vyhovs'kyjs, and that the future hetman was not connected with Luc'k. For this argument, see Senjutovyč-Berežnyj 1970:152.

him, as a sort of Polish agent from the very beginning of his work as secretary for the hetman.[9]

At this point the historical record becomes somewhat thicker. Vyhovs'kyj quickly became Xmel'nyc'kyj's chief *pysar'* or secretary, which meant that he conducted diplomacy—overt and covert—with the powers interested in the conflict: Poland, Muscovy, the Crimean Khanate, the Porte, and Sweden, to name the most important. Vyhovs'kyj was a major player in the events that led to the so-called Treaty of Perejaslav in 1654, under the terms of which the Cossack army pledged allegiance to Tsar Aleksej Mixajlovič.[10] After Xmel'nyc'kyj's death in 1657, Vyhovs'kyj took over the hetmancy under disputed circumstances: *he* claimed that Xmel'nyc'kyj, on his deathbed, had begged the secretary, unwilling though he was, to take control of the Cossack Host until Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj would mature into the job;[11] his opponents claimed he had manipulated his way into a position of power that did not belong to him, and which he had no thought of relinquishing to anyone.[12]

It was during this transition period that Vyhovs'kyj complained to the Muscovite side that his letters were not reaching the tsar. At this point all sides were publicly reaffirming the status quo, even as they were privately seeking out new alliances. Vyhovs'kyj was negotiating with the Polish side represented by the royal envoy, Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski; Tsar Aleksej Mixajlovič was seeking other alliances within the Cossack elite. Thus while Vyhovs'kyj and the tsar were publicly affirming their alliance, both were seeking out the other's enemies. For Vyhovs'kyj, this meant turning first to the Polish king, and later to the Crimean khan or the Turkish sultan. For the tsar, this meant turning to Martyn Puškar, Jakiv Barabaš, Vasyl' Zolotarenko, Tymiš Cjucjura, leaders of factions within the Cossack ranks, and ultimately to Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj, upon whom the hetmancy then devolved.

Eventually the bridges were publicly burned; now the Muscovite side declared Ivan Vyhovs'kyj a traitor, and Vyhovs'kyj now represented the Muscovite alliance as slavery under the tyrant/tsar. Vyhovs'kyj lost control of the Moscow-sponsored hetmancy, but he became Grand Duke of Ruthenia and

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9. For this document, see *Arxiv* 1894:98–99: "po trzeci raz od kozakow Chmielnickiemu za wieznia oddany, do dział przykowany cieskie wiezienie cierpiał y w nim cale długo zatrzymany, az przysiege wykonać musiał, ze przy woysku Zaporowskym zostawać miał. U ktorego przymuszony pisarzem generalnym będąc, nie odmienny wrodzony affect stanowi rycerskiemu wyswiadczał y do pokoiu rzeczy przywieść usiłował." (I have not altered the apparently faulty orthography of the nineteenth-century edition.)

10. On the treaty, see Basarab 1982 and the literature cited there.

11. *Akty* 1863:9, 12–13; *Akty* 1878:802–803.

12. See *Eyewitness* 1972:50–51 for a negative account of Vyhovs'kyj's accession to power.

Palatine of Kiev under Polish-Lithuanian sponsorship in the course of the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Hadjač of 1658. Vyhovs'kyj's chief collaborator in this period was Jurij Nemyryč (Jerzy Niemirycz), a radical Antitrinitarian who for a time placed his hopes in the protection of the Swedish king, Charles X Gustav. Nemyryč eventually returned to Ukraine, converted to Orthodoxy, and worked for the transformation of the Polish-Lithuanian confederation. Under this new agreement, a tripartite federation would replace the old Polish-Lithuanian "Commonwealth of the Two Nations," giving the Grand Duchy of Ruthenia and its Orthodox citizens rights equal to those enjoyed by the Catholics of the Crown and Lithuania.[13]

The Treaty of Hadjač was unable to solve the increasingly complex Ruthenian question. Although we lose sight of Vyhovs'kyj in the last years of his life, he seems to have continued to intrigue and to be the subject of intrigues. Reports from this period gathered in Rome by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith spoke of Vyhovs'kyj's attempts to convince King Jan Kazimierz of the sincerity of his allegiance,[14] but also of suspicions that he was dealing independently with the Turkish sultan.[15] Pavlo Teterja won the competition for the confidence of the Polish authorities and wrested from Vyhovs'kyj his remaining power. Vyhovs'kyj was imprisoned and—again according to reports to Propaganda Fide—executed by a Polish military tribunal on 26 March 1664. According to these accounts, he had at the last been negotiating with the Tatars to free him from prison by force.[16]

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First, then, what picture can we form of Vyhovs'kyj the gatherer, evaluator, and provider of information? Let us begin with the secretary's re-entry onto the recorded historical scene after his Tatar captivity, as it has been transmitted by the Muscovite sources. In the earliest reference of which I am aware, a report on Grigorij Unkovskij's embassy to Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, which took place from March to May 1649, Vyhovs'kyj already appeared in a

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13. On Niemirycz and on the Treaty of Hadjač, see Łukaszewicz 1860, Fotinskij 1896, Kot 1960, Tazbir 1981, Kamiński 1977.

14. Velykyj 1965:120.

15. Velykyj 1965:295–96, 297–98, 299.

16. Velykyj 1967:29–30. For a discussion of the controversies surrounding Vyhovs'kyj's death, see Senjutovyč-Bereźnyj (1970:154), who placed the execution on 19 March. See also Herasymčuk 1928.

list of people close to the hetman and second among secretaries.[17] Some indication of his special position may have been reflected in the fact that Xmel'nyc'kyj "read the sovereign's *gramota*, kissed its seal, and gave it to the secretary Ivan Vyhovs'kyj."[18] On this first occasion, Vyhovs'kyj, together with several other functionaries, received official diplomatic presents from Tsar Aleksej Mixajlovič.[19]

But already later that same year, a report by Grigorij Neronov and Grigorij Bogdanov reflected what would become the constant pattern of Muscovite embassies to Xmel'nyc'kyj. By now, Vyhovs'kyj either was listed first among the secretaries, or was the only one mentioned.[20] Sometimes before, sometimes after official dealings with the hetman, the envoys would meet in private with Vyhovs'kyj, who would give them information on Xmel'nyc'kyj's dealings with other powers, for which Vyhovs'kyj would receive separate payment. Some of this exchange of information certainly belonged to the official, "normal" functioning of the secretary's office and took place with Xmel'nyc'kyj's knowledge and blessing. But much of the exchange that interested Muscovite envoys was extra-normal, represented in their reports as taking place without the hetman's knowledge and indicating a special, separate, closer relationship between Vyhovs'kyj and the Muscovite authorities. (It is another question whether this representation was always accurate—whether Xmel'nyc'kyj was always truly unaware of this aspect of Vyhovs'kyj's activities.)

Typically, Vyhovs'kyj—along with all the other Cossack leaders—would receive in public an appropriate number of furs as official, publicly acknowledged, diplomatic presents; later on, he would receive extra payment for his further services in secret. On this, the first of many such recorded occasions, Vyhovs'kyj told Bogdanov of Xmel'nyc'kyj's plans for negotiations with the Poles and gave him written documentation.[21] Here we read after the long list of payments to Ruthenian officials, including Vyhovs'kyj, the following separate entry:

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17. *Vossoedinenie* 1954a:150.

18. *Vossoedinenie* 1954a:150: "И гетман государеву грамоту роспечатал и чол сам стоя не вслух, а прочет государеву грамоту поцеловал в печать и отдал писарю Ивану Выговскому..."

19. *Vossoedinenie* 1954a:161.

20. *Vossoedinenie* 1954a:267.

21. *Vossoedinenie* 1954a:276: "Да Григорью і подьячему сказывал писарь Иван Выговской, что гетман посылает х королевскому величеству послов своих вскоре до николина дни. . . . А на чем гетман и Войско Запорожское с королем и с ляхами помирились, и тем всем договорным мировым статьям у писаря взято письмо белоруским письмом."

> Secretary Ivan Vyhovs'kyj was given two pairs [of furs] above and beyond that pair that had been sent to him as a part of the sovereign's payment [жалованье] . . . on account of the fact that he had given the copy of the articles of peace negotiations, by which the hetman had concluded peace with the king, and because he recounted other things.[22]

This pattern repeated itself with considerable regularity in the Muscovite sources up to Xmel'nyc'kyj's death.[23]

This particular exchange by itself *could* have represented nothing other than the normal functioning of the secretary's office. But those who followed Vyhovs'kyj's story in the Muscovite diplomatic records were forced to juxtapose these sorts of accounts with those that read something like: "Those forty furs plus two pairs were sent to Ivan Vyhovs'kyj secretly, in accordance with his request, so that neither Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj nor anyone else know about it."[24] The frequent presence in the documents of such express statements allows us to suspect that the Muscovite authorities read all the accounts of Vyhovs'kyj's separate payments as confirmation of some special relationship.

The reports of Muscovite envoys offer indirect evidence for the existence of a sort of lexicon of secret diplomacy. Consider, for example, the way in which Vyhovs'kyj sought on one occasion to represent himself to the Muscovite side. The secretary was able to gather information because, so he claimed, he had everyone's trust: the Crimean khan valued his services (so he claimed) because "the hetman, and colonels, and the entire Zaporozhian Host listen to me and have esteem for me.... [They] believe me in every regard."[25]

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22. *Vossoedinenie* 1954a:279: "Писарю Ивану Выговскому дано 2 пары сверх тое пары, что ему прислано государева жалованья . . . для того, что он дал письмо мировым договорным статьям, на чем гетман с королем помирился, и про иные дела росказывал."

Sables, often in "forties," were standard Muscovite diplomatic presents. See Juzefovič 1988:47.

23. In the following passages, among many others, Muscovite envoys reported that Vyhovs'kyj provided information: *Vossoedinenie* 1654a:276, 439–40, 461–63; *Vossoedinenie* 1654b:60, 80–81, 116–17, 128, 139, 163, 184, 198–99, 204, 221, 302–303, 307, 310, 320, 353–54, 394, 483, 488; *Akty* 1878:117, 135–36, 67, 271, 328, 343, 600, 601–602; *Akty* 1889:4, 8, 14–15, 89.

24. *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:356: "И то сорок соболей да 2 пары к писарю Ивану Выговскому по ево челобитью послано к нему на двор тайно, чтоб гетман Богдан Хмельницкой и нихто про то не ведал."

25. *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:222: " . . . крымской царь, и колга, и нарадым, и мурзы, и хто у них есть владетели, меня слушают. Ведома им, что за помочью божию я в Войску Запорожском владетель во всяких делах, а гетман де, и полковники, и все Запорожское Войско меня слушают и почитают. А то де вы и сами видите, что гетман и лутчие люди Войско Запорожское мне верят во всем."

(The truth, as we will see, was equally distributed in the opposite direction—many people distrusted Vyhovs'kyj; but this was what he told an envoy as part of his campaign to encourage Moscow's faith in his ability to provide reliable information.) Thus he was in a position to gather "genuine," "accurate," "trustworthy," "first-hand" information (*подлинный, прямый*), which he sent to Moscow "secretly" (*тайно*) or "in the secret manner" (*тайным обычаем*) and "without names" (*без імян*). Moscow, in turn, spoke of Vyhovs'kyj's "secret service" (*тайная служба*).[26] And the Muscovite side continued to offer Vyhovs'kyj separate payment in gifts—often expressly without Xmel'nyc'kyj's knowledge—"so that he might serve the sovereign."[27]

What did this mean in practical terms? Muscovite envoys always sought out Vyhovs'kyj in order to have a private discussion with him, often before they went to Xmel'nyc'kyj. Whenever Vyhovs'kyj wrote to Moscow or, more often, to officials in the border town of Putivl' for direct forwarding to the capital, he would endeavor to include some piece of useful information, frequently at the beginning of the letter. This was the diplomat's version of the *captatio benevolentiae*. These epistles often had a certain conventionality to them. Vyhovs'kyj increased the frequency of words like "faithful," "honest," "genuine," "accurate" to describe himself and his information at those moments when the other side might well have had doubts. Xmel'nyc'kyj assured Aleksej Mixajlovič that he and the Host had "nothing crafty in [their] hearts."[28] Vyhovs'kyj himself assured his audience in Moscow: "I will not keep secret from you anything I know"; "I will serve the great sovereign in all ways honestly, without any sort of craftiness."[29] One introductory formula had it: "I make known that genuine friends have made known, that . . ."[30]

The Muscovite side placed special emphasis on written documents. Vyhovs'kyj was to send back with the envoys diplomatic documents exchanged between Xmel'nyc'kyj and foreign powers; they would be copied in Moscow and then returned to Vyhovs'kyj. This seems to have been a test of Vyhovs'kyj's good faith as far as the Muscovite side was concerned, and

26. For the expressions *тайно*, *тайным дѣломъ*, *тайным обычаем*, etc., see *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:60, 112, 116–17, 184, 204, 223; *Akty* 1878:63, 157–58. For *подлинно*, see *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:221; *Akty* 1878:157–58; *Akty* 1863:4. For *без имян*, see *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:128,184. For *тайная служба*, see *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:223. For *прямо/прямой*, see *Akty* 1878:318, 320, 325.

27. *Vossoedinenie* 1954a:441: "Да до приезду гетманова писарю Ивану Выговскому дана пара для тово, чтоб государю служил."

28. *Akty* 1878:433: "ничтоже лукаво въ сердцѣ имуще."

29. *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:304: "не утаю от вас ничево, что ведаю"; *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:117: "готов ему, великому государю, присягнуть на том на всем, что он, писарь, великому государю во всяких мерах служить будет впрямь, безо всякие хитрости."

30. *Akty* 1863:2: "извѣщаю . . . что подлинные пріятели извѣстили . . ."

Vyhovs'kyj obliged, emphasizing that he was sending accurate copies, or, in some cases, originals and not copies.[31]

Thus far Vyhovs'kyj appears as a somewhat passive source of official and secret information for the Muscovites. This, of course, was far from the truth. I have already noted a few places where the intonation of the documents indicates that Vyhovs'kyj was actively seeking ways to make Moscow trust him. We must recall that Vyhovs'kyj functioned as a sort of foreign secretary for Xmel'nyc'kyj, and his life (as it appears in the sources) was entirely caught up in the gathering and providing of information and in the shaping of propaganda.[32] Polish documents offer us a few rare glimpses into Vyhovs'kyj's own intelligence agency. Polish spies drew the following picture of his chancery in 1651:

> Vyhovs'kyj has in his chancery twelve scribes from the Polish *szlachta*, one of whom is named Piasecki, such that Xmel'nyc'kyj knows everything that is happening in Warsaw, and he has such that tell him every least thing.[33]

And the Polish side drew the conclusion that "Vyhovs'kyj rules all absolutely and sends off envoys without Xmel'nyc'kyj."[34]

We know the names of a few of Vyhovs'kyj's agents (in addition to the official envoys who were, most likely, at least part-time spies). The secretary made use of a Serb by the name of Mikolaj Markov, who gathered information ("для провѣдоканья вѣстей") in Constantinople.[35] Another Serb, we read, a certain Vasılij Danilov, had come from Serbia four years earlier (i.e., 1647) and had been living with Vyhovs'kyj for some time.[36] It seems that Vyhovs'kyj made use of Danilov and other foreigners, especially those with good excuses for travelling and keeping their eyes open, so that, as the Muscovite report has it, "no one would recognize them on their way and

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31. *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:221–22.

32. For an evaluation of the structure and the functioning of the secretary's office, see Ševčenko 1964. See also Kryp'jakevyč 1954:380–408.

33. *Dokumenty* 1965:377: "Wyhowski w kancelarii swojej ma pisarzów dwanaście szlachty polskiej, z których jeden ma imię Piasecki, że wszytko wie Chmielnicki, co się w Warszawie dzieje i że ma takich, co mu najmniejszą rzecz powiadają."

34. *Dokumenty* 1965:444: "Wyhowski wszytkim absolute rządzi i posły sam bez Chmielnickiego odprawuje."

35. *Akty* 1878:580: "сказывалъ . . . писаря Ивана Выговского человѣкъ, Сербинъ Миколай Марковъ: нынѣшніе де зимы посылалъ де его Миколая писарь Иванъ Выговской во Царьгородъ, для провѣдованья вѣстей."

36. *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:81: "А сербенин Василей Данилов пришол в войско из Сербские земли тому 4 годы и служит казацкую службу, а живет при войсковом писаре при Иване Выговском."

that it be kept secret."[37] There are some indications that Vyhovs'kyj was making use of a tsar-pretender by the name of Timofej Ankudinov, whose many travels and whose potential to command authority among the populace of Muscovy may have lent him a certain appeal to Cossack leaders. Xmel'nyc'kyj and Vyhovs'kyj protected Ankudinov for some time, until Muscovite pressure finally forced them to send him on his way, although not directly back to Moscow for the execution that was awaiting him.[38] Finally, Polish sources spoke of a certain Theodosios, a Greek of L'viv, who "under pretext of conducting business," travelled as an agent for Vyhovs'kyj. Hetman Vyhovs'kyj was to entrust him with the crucial mission to King Jan Kazimierz renewing allegiance to the Polish-Lithuanian sovereign, as well as to King Charles X of Sweden, who had requested a Greek-speaking envoy since he knew Greek.[39]

On one occasion Vyhovs'kyj gave the Muscovite side a closer glimpse into his way of conducting business. Alcohol was the key in this instance. "People come to us unaware," the secretary is reported to have said, "and they get drunk, and having come to us in the settlement, they talk, and we report or otherwise convey what they say, and they do not know what they have said when they leave us."[40]

But if Vyhovs'kyj was so involved in gathering and providing information, was he perhaps also involved in providing a kind of disinformation to the Muscovite authorities? This is, of course, difficult to prove, since it is a matter of intent as well as content. Consider, however, the following episodes. In 1651 Vyhovs'kyj gave a lengthy report to Aleksej Mixajlovič, in which he again, according to convention, offered to serve the tsar "honestly, without any sort of craftiness," by providing information on Xmel'nyc'kyj's dealings with any foreign emissaries. In a move further to establish his position as an independent player and to encourage the tsar to believe him, he spoke of his fears that Xmel'nyc'kyj would find out about his secret service for Moscow.[41] He then proceeded to ask the tsar to receive Rus' "because all pray

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37. *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:81: "А послал де их к царскому величеству писарь Иван Выговской чужеземцов, для тово, чтоб их в дороге нихто не познал и было б тайно."

38. On Ankudinov, see *Vossoedinenie* 1954a:410–21, 502.

39. *Pamjatniki* 1852:219–21, 268.

40. *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:222: "А то приезжают к нам незнающие люди и упиваютца и, к нам приехав в село ж, говорят, а мы о чем отпишем или в речах приказываем, и они не ведают, что сказать, от нас приехав."

41. *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:117: "И чтоб де про то, что он великому государю его царскому величеству служа, учнет обо всем ведомо чинить, никому было не ведомо для того, чтоб ево перед гетманом не озлословили и гетману б того не донеслось. А он, писарь, добре того опасен, чтоб гетману про то не донеслось, а как де про то от кого ведомо учинитса гетману, и гетман де конечно велит ево за то карать."

to God with one voice and wish to be under His high sovereign hand with great desire."[42] Vyhovs'kyj offered a list of economic incentives for Aleksej Mixajlovič to do this, and he concluded with the assurances ("подлинно ведает": "he knows for sure, has first-hand knowledge") that once Rus' had moved into the Muscovite camp, the Crown and the Grand Duchy would follow *voluntarily*.[43]

This communication, of course, raises many questions. Was Vyhovs'kyj really working without the hetman's blessing on all those occasions when he sought to distance himself from his superior in the minds of the Muscovite authorities? Did the secretary really believe that the Polish Crown lands and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania would follow the Hetmanate voluntarily? Did he think Aleksej Mixajlovič would believe it? Or did he perhaps hope that the tsar's desire to control Lithuanian territory would cloud his judgment on this issue? Or was he an enthusiast who let himself get carried away for the moment by the flow of his rhetoric?

However this may be, Vyhovs'kyj continued to express concern to his Muscovite contacts that Xmel'nyc'kyj might discover his behind-the-scenes activities. In the fall of 1653 the secretary reported that his secret—so he had been informed—had nearly been made known in Moscow: one of Xmel'nyc'kyj's envoys had apparently discovered that Vyhovs'kyj was working independently with the Muscovite side, and the secretary (so he claimed) had drawn the hetman's wrath for this:

> when (so he says) the hetman's envoys were in Moscow at the seat of the great sovereign, His Imperial Highness, and those envoys of the hetman, hearing in Moscow words of praise concerning me, that I faithfully serve the sovereign, His Imperial Highness, and, having returned here, they told the hetman, and the hetman (so he says) became and remained angry at me. And you (so he says), give me the tsar's payment secretly, after you have been with the hetman, and do not speak words of praise concerning me in the presence of the hetman.[44]

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42. *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:117: "потому что все единогласно молят бога и хотят быти под ево государскою высокою рукою з большим хотеньем."

43. *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:118: "и про то де он подлинно ведает, что Коруна Польская и Великое княжество Литовское и без войны учинятца подданными и будут под ево государскою рукою, потому что Коруна Польская и Великое княжество Литовское и от одних их, казаков, живут в великом страхованье и чают над собою большого разоренья."

44. *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:394: "как де у великого государя у его царского величества были на Москве гетманские посланцы, и те де гетманские посланцы, слыша на Москве про меня похвальные слова, что я великому государю его царскому величеству служу верно, и, приехав, гетману сказали, и гетман де на меня почел быть и досталь сердит. И вы де мне государю жалованье дайте, быв у гетмана, тайно и слов де похвальных при гетмане про меня не говорите."

The Muscovite side assured him on this occasion that his secret was safe, and it agreed to go on paying him separately and in secret. This theme was to come up several times in reports of conversations with Vyhovs'kyj.[45]

In another passage that deserves consideration in this same context the secretary reported in June 1651 that both he and the hetman had been offered gifts by the Turks: Xmel'nyc'kyj had accepted them, so Vyhovs'kyj reported, but Vyhovs'kyj himself had refused—so he claimed to his Muscovite contact—on the grounds that "he would not be able to render service for such great gifts to such a great sultan."[46] The question for us, as for the original recipients of this and other communications, is twofold: whether this statement is essentially true, but more importantly—whether true or false—to what end Vyhovs'kyj had related it to the Muscovite authorities.

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Let us turn now to an evaluation of some of the interpretative problems posed by the documents. Consider, for example, the following episode as recorded by Muscovite envoys. The Muscovite side had become concerned in 1654 that Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj was still using the old seal as the symbol of his office in his official documents and correspondence when, after all, he had already been provided with a new one reflecting his new allegiance. The envoy would be dealing with Vyhovs'kyj, and he was sent off with specific instructions how to respond in the case of a variety of excuses that the secretary might offer.[47] Vyhovs'kyj's response, as it turned out, was not one of those foreseen. According to his explanation, the Muscovite seal was unusable:

> The hetman has His Imperial Highness's gift, the seal [so the secretary is reported to have claimed], and it lies in its case. But it is difficult to seal letters with it: not all of the words come out, there is nothing to press down with, there is no handle.[48]

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45. See, for example, *Vossoedinenie* 1954a:154; *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:353–54, 356, 394; *Akty* 1878:118.

46. *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:320: "и гетман де дары принял, а ко мне де от царя дары были, и я де даров не имал, а сказал послу: мне де за такие великие дары такому великому царю не отслужить."

47. *Akty* 1878:660.

48. *Akty* 1878:666: "И Иванъ сказалъ: царского величества жалованье, печать, у гетмана есть и лежитъ въ скринѣ, печатать ею листы трудно, слова не всѣ выходятъ, притиснуть нечѣмъ, руковѣди нѣтъ; и гетманъ и онъ Иванъ велѣли слово въ слово такову жъ печать съ руковѣдью сдѣлать иную на царское же величество имя . . ."

Thus the Cossack leaders had decided to have an exact replica of the original made according to higher technical standards. Although it is not impossible that the Muscovite workmanship was indeed shoddy, we might suspect that the real reason was in order to make a new seal that was *not exactly* a replica of the one made in Moscow. Vyhovs'kyj must have supposed that Muscovite authorities had kept copies of the newly-made seal of the hetmanate and would not have hesitated to forge documents when the need arose.[49] By making the new seals themselves, according to specifications under their direct control, the Ruthenian leaders may have been attempting to maintain certain aspects of authority independent of Moscow.[50]

This episode, along with many other reports on encounters with Vyhovs'kyj, cries out for interpretation, and yet none is recorded. The documents of the Muscovite *posol'skij prikaz* or foreign office, by far the richest source of information on Vyhovs'kyj, contain next to no information on the contemporary discussion of the recorded events.[51] The Muscovite sources in general, and particularly the official *statejnye spiski* of the envoys, only reported; they never offered the interpretations toward which these details were gathered. In almost all instances we must try to imagine what discussion took place *after* the documents were entered, copied, read to the sovereign, etc.

Instructions to the envoys, such as those found in the episode concerning the seal—themselves a kind of indirect indicator of Muscovite interpretative trends—do occur in the documents, but they are by no means frequent.[52] Very early in the encounter with Vyhovs'kyj, the Muscovite side attempted to find out a number of things, including "how long had the army's secretary Ivan Vyhovs'kyj been there, and where had he come from . . . ?"[53] In this instance, answers were recorded to all the questions *except* those about

49. Such things apparently happened. Father Maksym Fylymonovyč, who had been positioning himself as a Muscovite agent independent of Vyhovs'kyj, faked a passport for his nephew by cutting Vyhovs'kyj's seal off a genuine document and affixing it to the counterfeit: "а въ томъ де, государь, листу было написано, бутто онъ ѣдетъ въ Чигиринъ, а печать де къ тому листу дядя ево приложилъ гетманскую, снявъ съ иного листа" (*Akty* 1863:201).

50. On the significance of various types of seals in Muscovite diplomatic exchanges, see Juzefovič 1988:23, 169–70.

51. Many of these official sources dealing with Vyhovs'kyj and his relations with Muscovy have been printed in vols. 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 14, and 15 of the *Akty* and vols. 2 and 3 of *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy*.

52. On the *pamjati* or instructions to envoys, see Croskey 1987:39–40.

53. *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:78: "А на Москве гречанин Илья Мануйлов да Василей Данилов роспрашиваны: скол давно войсковой писарь Иван Выговской и ис которых мест, и о каких делех их послал, и письмо с ними...?"

Vyhovs'kyj. And there were indeed—as we can gather from occasional hints in other sources—some real questions here, questions to which we, too, would welcome answers. What was the spiritual path that led Vyhovs'kyj from serving King Jan Kazimierz in Mikołaj Potocki's army to serving as Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj's secretary? What were the circumstances of his transferal to Xmel'nyc'kyj's physical control? Did Xmel'nyc'kyj mistrust him and keep him in a sort of confinement at the beginning? How did he gain the hetman's trust? Did he ever have it completely? The preserved Muscovite documents are practically silent about who the secretary was, what he was up to, and whether he was to be trusted.

It seems unlikely, of course, that the Muscovite side had ceased gathering information about its chief source of information on Cossack affairs. And still, up to Xmel'nyc'kyj's death we read in the Muscovite documents only matter-of-fact reports on official and secret conversations with the secretary. The envoys reported on the separate payment for his services, and conveyed copies of letters back and forth which offered, on the one side, to continue providing information until one's last breath[54] and, on the other side, to continue material expressions of eternal gratitude. And then suddenly, prepared only by a laconic question in the Muscovite documents as to "whether there was not some inconstancy in Vyhovs'kyj and the leading people,"[55] there came a point where Vyhovs'kyj appeared in the Muscovite sources only as "the traitor Vyhovs'kyj."[56] *We* know that the Muscovite side must have been sizing up Vyhovs'kyj's reliability and loyalty all along, and that it had decided to give its support to Puškar and Barabaš in the period of ambiguous power relations after Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj's death. Vyhovs'kyj must have known it too. But we have to infer all this. It is expressed directly nowhere in the Muscovite documents.

In addition to arriving in the Cossack camp armed with a series of questions, envoys were also apparently instructed to note the fine points of diplomatic ritual in their reports: did a Cossack leader read the tsar's *gramoty* sitting or standing, did he drink to his health, did he kiss or glance at an icon or a cross, did he cross himself when he made crucial statements or promises,

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54. *Akty* 1878:328: "А которые вѣсти будутъ по сихъ въ тотъ часъ твоему царскому величеству прямо извѣщу и до живота моего вѣрно твоему царскому величеству служити и пріяти и всякого дѣла доброго хотѣти буду."

55. *Akty* 1863:38: "и нѣтъ ли у гетмана Ивана Выговского и начальныхъ людей какой шатости?"

56. *Akty* 1863:220.

and so on.[57] We read of several occasions where Muscovite envoys noted that Vyhovs'kyj affirmed his statements by one or more of these gestures.[58]

Such details, while not a part of every report, did often occur in the reports of Muscovite envoys and were no doubt examined in the unrecorded interpretation processes. But this information helps us little in our attempts to interpret these acts, or even to come to some sense of how they were interpreted by the Muscovite authorities in any particular instance. One of the chief problems with using such indicators is the fact that they, too, were subject to strategic manipulation: the Cossack elite was aware of these aspects of Muscovite diplomatic ritual and may well have used them for its own purposes.

Consider the following episodes. At one point Martyn Puškar, who was to lead a revolt against Vyhovs'kyj within the Cossack ranks, urged Moscow not to believe the hetman, "even if he should make a display of kissing the cross."[59] This would indicate both an awareness of the importance of this indicator on the part of at least one Cossack leader, as well as an allegation that such an awareness might be exploited. On at least one occasion we can note that Cossack leaders thought to instruct their envoys in Moscow to follow Muscovite diplomatic ritual, and that this ritual was represented as something specific to Muscovy and foreign to Rus' ("по обычаю ихъ").[60] Thus we have further justification for suspecting that the Cossack side was attuned to this Muscovite attention to outward behavior. But then, what are we to make of the fact that Puškar's warning and this bit of intra-Ruthenian political stage-directing made their way into the records controlled by the audience, the Muscovite *posol'skij prikaz*? How much of the diplomatic acting was thus done with both sides aware that both sides knew that a performance was taking place?

Two other groups of sources—reports of Polish envoys, and information gathered in Rome by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide)—are incomparably poorer than the Muscovite documents. Still, the few Polish documents, mostly the accounts of royal

57. See, for example, *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:222, 303, 394; *Akty* 1863:126. These and other aspects of Muscovite diplomatic ritual have been analyzed in Juzefovič 1988 (especially pp. 123, 173, 176) and in the chapter on " Ceremony" in Croskey 1987:117–67.

58. See *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:222, 303, 394.

59. *Akty* 1863:88: "ми прямые (слуги) Войску Запорожскому . . . видимъ прехитрость Выговского злую явственную противъ царского его величества и Войску Запорожскому. . . . не поддавайтеся Выговскому, хотя бъ и крестное цѣлованіе вамъ устроялъ. . ."

60. See *Akty* 1878:559: "Наказъ Филону Горкушѣ до Москвы. Пришодъ передъ его царское величество, напервіе, по обычаю ихъ, низкое челобитье до лица земли учинивши, и тако молыть . . ."

envoy Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski, offer some contrasts to the Muscovite mode of reporting.[61] Here, much more interpreting seems to have been done in public and committed to paper. One document offered a series of specific tests of sincerity and intent.[62] And yet, in spite of the fact that the Polish sources are seemingly more forthcoming on issues of interpreting diplomacy, they actually add extra wrinkles to the same general set of problems. "I have come to understand this peasant monarchy *intus et in cute* [through and through],"[63] wrote envoy Bieniewski, and our hopes rise. But we begin to suspect that Bieniewski was fighting his own battles for prominence within the Polish elite when we read: "If anyone should allege *contrarium* [the opposite], he *jactabit* [boasts of] himself, *et non veritatem* [and not of the truth]."[64] Bieniewski himself boasted that Vyhovs'kyj's spy/envoy, the Greek merchant Theodosios of L'viv, was actually in his—Bieniewski's—control and that Vyhovs'kyj hid nothing from his envoy.[65] But this sounds much like Vyhovs'kyj's earlier attempts to encourage his Muscovite partners to value *his* information because everyone trusted him.

Propaganda Fide was forced to deal largely in rumors on these questions, and it seems to have been aware of this fact.[66] It received reports from all over Europe on Ukrainian affairs, but even those sent directly from Poland-Lithuania were reticent about their own reliability. The nuncio in Warsaw reported on 27 October 1657 that "there was the occasional rumor that Vyhovs'kyj, elected by the Cossack army as their captain, had been assassinated."[67] In February 1659 Vyhovs'kyj was once again rumored either dead (at the hands of the Muscovites) or missing (in the hands of the Cossack

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61. See *Dokumenty* 1965, *Pamjatniki* 1852, and *Arxiv* 1894 for sources dealing with Vyhovs'kyj's relations with Polish authorities.

62. See *Pamjatniki* 1852:157: "Bendzie to tedy znac ze on sczyrze z Krolem J. M. y Rzpitą pokoy chce zawrzec, jesli . . , " etc.

63. *Pamjatniki* 1852:225: "intus et in cute zrozumiałem tę Monarchią Chłopską."

64. *Pamjatniki* 1852:221: "Jesliby Contrarium kto udawał siebie iactabit et non veritatem."

65. *Pamjatniki* 1852:219–21. A report to *Propaganda Fide* described Theodosios as "a venal man, and easily won with money." (Velykyj 1954:214: "si raccoglie esser huomo venale, e facile à guadagnarsi con il denaro.")

66. For Vatican sources, see Velykyj 1953, Velykyj 1954, Velykyj 1963a, Velykyj 1963b, Velykyj 1965, Velykyj 1967.

67. Velykyj 1963b:74: "S'è sparsa voce, ch'il Wioski eletto per loro Capitano dalla militia Cosacca, sia stato ammazzato."

ranks).[68] Later on, Vyhovs'kyj was frequently rumored to be dealing independently with the Turks.[69]

Typical of the wishful thinking that often guided Vatican policy on the "Eastern question" was the assumption that Vyhovs'kyj was—*as far as Bieniewski could tell*—a Catholic;[70] that he was, in the words of a report routed through Prague and Venice, "a man of tact and rather tractable."[71] The Uniate archbishop of Xolm, Jakiv Suša, marshalled theological arguments in a letter to Vyhovs'kyj of 9 March 1659, apparently in the belief that he could secure the new hetman's allegiance for his own cause by appealing to the authority of Roman doctrine.[72] And Vyhovs'kyj seems indeed to have been skilled at playing all things to all men. But by February 1663, the "tactful and tractable" Vyhovs'kyj had become, in a report to Propaganda Fide, a "troubled man, who carries on much correspondence with the Turks."[73]

We are kept further from direct information about Vyhovs'kyj by the fact that, although he often spoke out (or is represented as having spoken out) in the first person in these sources, we have no collection of documents that was controlled by Vyhovs'kyj or his party. In addition to the (no doubt) enormous fortuitous gaps in the record, all the groups of sources reflect the selecting and copying (sometimes perhaps also the "translating" or editing) activities of the powers that had an interest in Ruthenian affairs. Would a somewhat different picture arise if Vyhovs'kyj had controlled and transmitted some set of sources?

Finally, truly sensitive information (or at least, information that was represented as truly sensitive) was not committed to paper but was to be conveyed orally by the envoy who carried with him the supposedly less sensitive document that has been preserved for us, and in which we read that the recipient was to "believe everything" the envoy was to report.[74] Although

68. Velykyj 1965:130–31: "Del Wioski corrono qui poco buone voci, che sia stato ucciso da Moscoviti e rotto, ò pure che sia seguito per mano della plebe Cosacca, che non gli è molto affetta, ma se n'attende maggior certezza."

69. Velykyj 1965:100, 295–96, 297–98, 299.

70. Velykyj 1963b:130–31: "m'ha detto, che per quanto puol conoscere, il detto Wioski sia Cattolico." See also Praszko 1944:108.

71. Velykyj 1965:77: "huomo discreto et assai trattabile . . ."

72. See Praszko 1944:117–25; Nazarko 1971:37–42. The letter has been published in Russian translation in "Pis'mo" 1883.

73. Velykyj 1965:298: "huomo torbido, e che tiene molta corrispondenza co' Turchi . . ."

74. See, for example, *Vossoedinenie* 1954b:128–29: "При том, как бы там чтомого прислано, вели спрят дать, чтобы без убытка до нас посланца не мешкотно шли. Остаток—с посланцом говорил, во всем верь."

This practice is discussed in Ševčenko 1964:94 and, for the Muscovite side, in Croskey 1987:24.

we would, of course, dearly love to know what was communicated in each of these instances, it is unlikely that we would be inclined to "believe everything" or that we would find definitive answers here. Rather, these communications would likely have posed interpretative problems similar to those encountered in the preserved documents: why was this piece of information represented as more sensitive than others; what did the initiator of this communication hope to achieve by this representation?

And yet, the recipients and later readers of these documents were and are challenged to interpret them. One long-lived interpretative scheme has posed the Ruthenian problem in terms of either/or dilemmas: in the realm of politics this has often meant either Poland-Lithuania or Muscovy. But these questions always had cultural and confessional components as well, and could be formulated in terms that opposed the Latin West to the Byzantine East, loyalty to treason, the common good to private gain. According to one early historiographic formulation, in the *Eyewitness Chronicle*, Vyhovs'kyj was a sort of Jesuitical dissimulator who expressed one thing with his mouth but held in his heart quite other intentions.[75] It was thanks to Vyhovs'kyj that "Polish guile and the perfidy of the Latins found the hole through which they were to steal into the office of the hetmancy and control it."[76] Vyhovs'kyj, according to the Eyewitness, used the hetmancy to enrich himself and his family.[77] And Velyčko (1926:166–67) offered a similar picture.

Here, too, the documents offer us mixed messages concerning Vyhovs'kyj's political, cultural, and confessional orientation. In communications between Vyhovs'kyj and the Muscovite authorities, both sides exploited a set of anti-Polish commonplaces. Soon after Vyhovs'kyj's election as hetman, Tsar Aleksej Mixailovič informed Vyhovs'kyj that the pope himself had given his blessing to the Poles' mendacity.[78] In other words, as the Eyewitness was to claim: Poles (and their agents) are programmatic liars. Here we have the spectacle of the two Orthodox parties, Muscovy and Rus', encouraging each other—especially in the period of the Treaty of Vilnius between Muscovy and Poland—not to listen to the clever ruses of the lying Poles: Muscovy expressed confidence that Rus' would not believe Polish propaganda seeking

75. *Eyewytness* 1972:50: "на що любо ся вымовлялъ Выговскій усты, але серцемъ шукалъ того способу—якъ бы тое цѣлкомъ опановати . . ."

76. *Eyewitness* 1972:51: "Але предся фортель лядскій а лацини превоthotность найшла дѣру, которою бы мѣла влѣзти в тотъ урядъ гетманства и опановати . . ."

77. *Eyewitness* 1972:52: "старій Хмелницкій, з неволѣ оного от татаръ вызволивши, такимъ паномъ учинилъ, а не тилко его самого, але и усѣхъ покревныхъ его збогатилъ. . ."

78. *Akty* 1878:576: "на такое ихъ дѣло отецъ ихъ папа всегда за клятвою понуждаетъ и отъ преступленія клятвы разрѣшаетъ."

to lure them back into the Commonwealth,[79] and Rus' warned Muscovy not to believe Polish lies (including, presumably, the "disinformation" that Rus' was listening to the Polish mendacities).[80] In fact, it was often Ivan Vyhovs'kyj and the Ruthenian side that spoke out to Muscovy most loudly about the lying Poles. When Vyhovs'kyj wished to recommend the Kiev Academy to Aleksej Mixajlovič's financial protection, he spoke of the threat from the "dishonorable Poles and godless Lithuania,"[81] and he asserted that the school "had educated [sons of the Ruthenian nation] in the Orthodox faith and had turned [them] from Western Latin deceit to Orthodox chastity and truth."[82] Here Vyhovs'kyj himself opposed lying Poles to honest Rus'.

In the transitional period after Xmel'nyc'kyj's death, Vyhovs'kyj began to turn the rhetoric of flattery and reliability toward the Polish authorities. To choose one example from several, on 20 May 1658, Vyhovs'kyj wrote to Crown Hetman Stanisław Potocki in the following terms:

> I always seek to serve His Royal Majesty as well as I can, directing affairs to the best of my ability to the common weal.[83]

Yet even a few months later, on 17 October 1658, he was still writing similar flattery to Aleksej Mixajlovič:

> We have already more than once informed Your Royal Majesty that we think in no way to betray our oath and fidelity to Your Royal Majesty; rather we place all our hope in the mercy of Your Royal Majesty . . .[84]

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79. Aleksej Mixajlovič wrote to Vyhovs'kyj on 26 July 1658 (*Akty* 1863:134): "того быти не чаемъ, что тебѣ тѣмъ Ляцкимъ прелестнымъ писмамъ или инымъ ихъ какимъ злокозненымъ замысломъ вѣрить." See also *Akty* 1878:358, 542–43, 565.

80. Vyhovs'kyj communicated to Aleksej Mixajlovič through the envoy, *stolnik* Vasilij Petrovič Kikin, in August-September 1657 (*Akty* 11:804): if Jan Kazimierz should send communications to Aleksej Mixajlovič, "he should not believe them in any way as crafty deceivers" ("ни въ чемъ бы имъ, яко лукавымъ прелстителямъ, не вѣрилъ"). See also *Akty* 1878:72–73, 186, 222–3.

81. *Akty* 1878:734: "и меча и нашествія иноплеменныхъ и нечестивыхъ Ляховъ и Литвы безбожныя."

82. *Akty* 1878:734: "и воспиталъ въ вѣрѣ православной и отъ прелести латинскія заподныя ко цѣломудрію и истинѣ восточной обратилъ."

83. *Pamjatniki* 1852:261: "Zawsze Ja potrafiam w to iakobym naylepiey mógł usłużyć Jego K. M. ile moia udolność znosi ku pospolitemu pożytkowi nawodząc rzeczy . . ."

84. *Akty* 1863:184: "Уже есми непоединократно . . . вашему царскому величеству извѣщали, что мы никакою мѣрою присяги и вѣры нашіе вашему царскому величеству измѣнити не мыслимъ, но совершенно на милость вашего царского величества надѣемся . . ."

Other cases could be cited where Vyhovsʹkyj seems to have represented himself, for all practical purposes simultaneously, as a servant of competing masters.

By the summer of 1659, in messages to other Ruthenians that were intercepted and preserved by the Muscovite side, Vyhovsʹkyj was now employing a set of equally conventional, anti-Muscovite clichés, opposing the "attainment of freedom through shedding of blood" to remaining passively in "iron Muscovite servitude."[85] He taunted one recalcitrant Ruthenian with having developed a taste for "Muscovite slavery"[86] and stated that Rus′ must now turn to a "true lord" ("прямой пан") in order to save Orthodoxy.[87] These were precisely the Polish deceits that, according to Muscovite representations, Janusz Radziwiłł, Palatine of Vilnius and Grand Hetman of Lithuania, had earlier been spreading, and which sought to represent Poland-Lithuania as the land of freedom and Muscovy as the land of slavery; and it was these same deceits that Rus′ and Muscovy had been cautioning each other not to hear.

In short, Vyhovsʹkyj made use of all the available cultural clichés in his attempts to establish and to undermine authority and reliability. To suspicious Muscovite authorities, he spoke of the salvation of Orthodox Churches and warned against the lying Poles. Addressing himself to the Polish authorities, he spoke of preserving the common weal, by which he allowed his correspondent to suppose he must have meant the Rzecz Pospolita. In convincing the Ruthenians to make the switch to the Muscovite alliance, he had insisted that the tsar would offer even better rights, freedoms, and liberties than the Polish king.[88] In convincing the same people to make the switch back to the king, he opposed Polish liberty to Muscovite slavery and spoke of the "true lord" who would save Orthodoxy and stop the internecine shedding of Christian (i.e., Orthodox Ruthenian) blood.

All sides, of course, played the Orthodoxy card. Early in the Ruthenian-Muscovite encounter, the Ruthenian side had urged Aleksej Mixajlovič to take under his protection "the holy Orthodox Churches" that were being

85. Vyhovsʹkyj wrote on 5 July 1659 (*Akty* 1872:301): "Разумѣю либо тогда о томъ, что зѣло корыстуя въ волностяхъ кровавое набытіе, неже въ желѣзной Московской неволѣ, до насъ склоняйтеся и едино съ нами разумѣти и учинити похочете."

86. *Akty* 1872:303: "а и царь же вамъ засладилъ, не вѣдаемъ, что за причина; развѣ улюбили есте неволю . . . "

87. *Akty* 1872:303: "а мы, обратившися до пана прямого, короля его милости Полского, будемъ Бога молити, что отмститъ имъ то, что за причиною ихъ вся сія страна спустошена, церкви Божіи пожжены и такъ много людей невинныхъ въ неволю побрали."

88. *Akty* 1878:563.

closed and otherwise persecuted by Poles and Uniates, who, we read, treated their Orthodox brethren worse than Jews and heretics.[89] This had been a commonplace from the Ruthenian confessional polemical literature of the 1620s on,[90] and by now the Moscow side was repeating these same clichés in its communications with Rus'. The constant refrain of communications between Rus' and Muscovy before the Treaty of Perejaslav—"for Orthodox Churches"[91]—seems to have functioned as a kind of mutual cheerleading. After the Treaty, the Muscovite side would play the Orthodoxy card whenever it attempted to limit Ruthenian autonomy, and Rus' would play it whenever it sought room to maneuver. Part of the struggle in this period was therefore for rhetorical control of the right to represent true Orthodoxy. Depending on who was speaking, Ivan Vyhovs'kyj, Aleksej Mixajlovič, Jan Kazimierz, Martyn Puškar and Jakiv Barabaš, were each either defenders or despoilers of Orthodox Churches, monasteries, monks, women, and children.

In other words, Vyhovs'kyj had command over at least two rhetorics, two sets of rules governing style and content, two ways of conceptualizing and representing reality. To the tsar he would write in heavily Slavonicized formulas of obeisance:

о нихъ же азъ и вторицею ходатайственная моленія моя тебѣ великому государю нашему, твоему царскому величеству, челомъ бью, і воеже бы благопріятномъ быти прошенія ихъ у тебя великого государя нашего, у твоего царского величества, благонадеженъ есмь. Посемъ самого себя, послѣднѣйшаго меншаго и худѣйшаго слугу твоего царского величества, неисчетной благости царской твоего царского величества прилежно вручаю.[92]

And writing to the Polish king he would employ the macaronic Latin-Polish that was the height of style in the middle of the seventeenth century:

Tak mnie szczęście utraktować chciało: że gdy za dostoieństwo Maiestatu W.K. Mości P. M. M. *extrema* umyśliłem *experiri: inuuidia virtutis comes calumniantium* usty opacznie moią Maiestatowi W.K.Mci y Rptey resoluowałem usługę: nietylko *ad fortunae* ktorom cale *exinanivi* ale y *ad vitae dispendia* dam wierności moiey cnotą y wiarą kożdego czasu dowod.[93]

This, of course, was normal diplomacy. But what is nonetheless worth noting here is the fact that this adaptability to the rhetorical expectations of the negotiating partners was something absolutely crucial to the Cossack side if it

89. See *Akty* 1878:11.
90. See Smotryc'kyj 1622:15^{r-v}/477–8 and Sysyn 1987.
91. See *Akty* 1878:16, 111, 123–24, 133, 221, 351, 357, 358, 565; *Akty* 1863:97, 116.
92. *Akty* 1878:734–35.
93. *Pamjatniki* 1852:358.

was to succeed in its diplomatic dance with the powers of the day. And Vyhovs'kyj appears to have mastered the steps as well as anyone.[94]

That is to say, Vyhovs'kyj seems to have employed cultural clichés that fit the either/or paradigm in his communications to the two major powers, as well as (at times) within the Cossack ranks. But to what end did he martial these arguments? Like the contemporary readers of these documents, we compare words and deeds in our attempts to interpret both. If we accept the either/or paradigm as representative of deeper, more long-term goals, then we will need to see the actions of Vyhovs'kyj and others in terms of a series of switches or betrayals; and we may be inclined to view any individual's final switch as indicative of genuinely held beliefs.

But clearly, non-binary models of thinking were also possible, as a contemporary Polish observer of the events, the palatine of Braclav, Andrzej Potocki, had already seen in his warning to King Jan Kazimierz in 1659 not to trust the overtures of the Cossack elite: "It is their *summa ratio status* to be neither under Your Royal Majesty nor under the tsar; and they expect to bring this about by misleading and frightening Your Royal Majesty with the tsar and the tsar with Your Royal Majesty."[95] The rhetoric of either/or choices could thus reflect the beliefs of the orator, but it could also be used to further an unexpressed third way. If we accept this last possibility, then we may be inclined to look for hidden constants behind the switches and to downplay the importance of any one set of stated beliefs or of an individual's final switch in allegiance.

Evidence can be found in the preserved testimonies to support quite a range of versions of Vyhovs'kyj: that he was tied to the Commonwealth and its political traditions;[96] that he linked the survival of Rus′ to the tsar's

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94. See Riedlmayer and Ostapchuk 1984 for an example of Xmel'nyc'kyj's correspondence with the Porte. The authors make the point that—by various paths that included formal education as well as time spent in captivity—Ukrainian statesmen had mastered many languages and many rhetorics.

On the practice of Cossack diplomacy in matching the rhetorical expectations of their various collocutors, see Ševčenko 1964:93.

95. *Pamjatniki* 1852:300: "Prawda że u nich to jest *summa ratio status* żeby nie bydź ani pod W. K. M. ani pod Carem; spodziewaio się oni tego dokazać, zwodząc y strasząc W. K. M. Carem, a Cara W. K. Mścio."

96. Here we can point to the fact that Vyhovs'kyj started and "ended" in the Polish camp, that he "betrayed" the Muscovite side, that he was constantly interested in extracting from his "masters" the rights, freedoms, and liberties that had defined the Polish-Lithuanian polity. The royal *gramota* of 4 June 1659 in which Jan Kazimierz related Vyhovs'kyj's *curriculum vitae* portrayed him as a Polish mole from the very beginning. (We might wonder, of course, whether Vyhovs'kyj had anything to do with the shaping of this version of his life.)

protection;[97] that his primary concern was the material well-being of himself and his family;[98] that his actions were in conflict with those of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj;[99] that his vision was in harmony with that of Xmel'nyc'kyj;[100] that his primary concern was some sort of Ruthenian autonomy, regardless of the political partner.

We still come back, however, to the basic question: what did Vyhovs'kyj seek to bring about through all his twistings and turnings? The either/or paradigm would tend to see these various versions as totalizing and mutually exclusive. The third-way paradigm might seek to include several of these versions as partially appropriate, but it could also argue that one goal—for

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97. Here we can point to the fact that Vyhovs'kyj complained about internal strife in the Host and about the actions of local Muscovite officials, but not about Muscovite authority *per se* (at least not until Aleksej Mixajlovič removed his protection). Even in his "manifesto" to European powers explaining his break with Moscow, he portrayed Aleksej Mixajlovič as a good tsar surrounded by bad advisers. See Basarab 1982:259.

98. Here we can point to his many about-faces and to the fact that he provided for himself and his family materially on every occasion. See *Akty* 1878:160–3, 244, for indications of Vyhovs'kyj's financial dealing beyond his secret spy's "salary." In 1658 *Propaganda Fide* instructed the nuncio in Warsaw to attempt to buy Vyhovs'kyj's allegiance. See Velykyj 1954:214: "Vede V. S. se con denaro, o con altro potesse acquitarsi l'animo del Viovschi..." Vyhovs'kyj's testament written shortly before his execution dealt largely with the material well-being of his family. See *Arxiv* 1894:116–23.

99. Here we can point to all those passages in which Vyhovs'kyj sought to distance himself from the hetman in his representations to Moscow. And the sources contain some independent information on discord between the hetman and his secretary. According to a rumor of 12 February 1653, Vyhovs'kyj, "a Polish nobleman," attempted to flee back to the Polish side and was "discovered by Xmel'nyc'kyj, who had him incarcerated and finally impaled." (Velykyj 1963:80: "che il Viowski, nobil Polacco altre volte per delitti bandito, privato di nobiltà e proclamato infame, se ch'era come Segretario e prima direttore di tutte le attioni del Kmielnicki contro la patria, nel voler fuggire da i Cosacchi con speranza o pare segreta intentione di ottenere il perdon, fusse dal medesimo Kmielnicki scoperto, fatto carcerare e finalmente impalare.")

100. Here we can point to the common rhetorical front that the two leaders offered in public to both Polish and Muscovite authorities and to the fact that Xmel'nyc'kyj seems to have been considering the switch back to some form of Polish allegiance shortly before his death. This interpretation might seem more strategy than truth in Vyhovs'kyj's representations of himself for the Muscovite audience as a player independent of Xmel'nyc'kyj.

Ševčenko (1964:87) makes the surprising allegation that "no documents have been preserved that would testify that Vyhovs'kyj, as secretary, conducted any sort of diplomatic affairs without the knowledge of the hetman." This statement must have been made as a response to all those passages in the documents where Vyhovs'kyj sought to distance himself from Xmel'nyc'kyj in Muscovite eyes. While a case could certainly be made that they were *all* subterfuge, a part of a policy conducted with the agreement of the hetman, it seems to me that Ševčenko would have needed to formulate his rather bald statement as a reaction *against* apparent evidence. (And recall that the Polish side had also reported that "Vyhovs'kyj rules all absolutely and sends off envoys without Xmel'nyc'kyj" [*Dokumenty* 1965:444].)

instance, Ruthenian autonomy, however limited or defined—was a constant, though not always directly expressed, concern.

Arguments that Vyhovs'kyj's goal was some version of Ruthenian autonomy would seem to lie close to the image of Vyhovs'kyj the negotiator. This interpretation can also be supported by the sources, although these pieces of evidence tend to be details and questions of intonation rather than explicit, overt statements. It could be seen as the motivation behind risk-taking. (Even though we cannot always assume that people "normally" do what is good for them, we might still suspect that by insisting upon a dangerous position, a person may have revealed something deeper about intentions and goals.) There is an odd sort of narrative rhythm to the sources. Ruthenian autonomy seems to have come to the foreground in statements issued at the moments of relaxation in structure and authority that occurred between renouncing one allegiance and taking up another. One such moment may have come when Vyhovs'kyj addressed a "manifesto" to the European powers explaining the rupture with Moscow.[101] This manifesto motivated the Cossacks' break with Poland-Lithuania, as well as the break with Muscovy, in terms of the need to protect "the holy Eastern Church and our ancestral liberty."[102]

A problem with such "optimistic" interpretations of Vyhovs'kyj's twistings and turnings is that they may replace a series of mutually exclusive totalizing versions of Vyhovs'kyj with one underlying totalizing version. These sorts of interpretations may tend to obscure the many questions about the secretary's character and actions that the sources also suggest. Was Vyhovs'kyj also greedy, materialistic, power-hungry, perfidious, cruel,[103] etc.? Probably he was all those things. There is no reason, of course, to suppose that any of these qualities excluded a vision of Ruthenian autonomy. And still, we have to admit that, for example, extreme greed for power could also explain his actions. Did he desire Ruthenian autonomy for its own sake, or in order to make himself master over a large and independent state? His "final goal" (final, because he died soon thereafter) was to establish a Ukrainian jurisdiction under Turkish control, separate from Polish *and*

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101. Published in *Arxiv* 1908:362–69 and in English translation in Basarab 1982:259–64.

102. Basarab 1982:259. See Majewski 1967 (especially 106, 116–17, 122) for an interpretation of Vyhovs'kyj's switches of allegiance in terms of an overriding search for Ruthenian autonomy, on the one hand, and struggles for power among Ruthenian sub-groups, on the other.

103. After the younger Xmel'nyc'kyj took over the hetmanate from Vyhovs'kyj, the Muscovite authorities forbade him recourse to the death penalty on the grounds that Vyhovs'kyj had thus dealt with his opponents. (See *Akty* 1863:267.) But again, we do not know whether Vyhovs'kyj was unusually cruel, or whether this was the pretext the Muscovite side employed in wresting ever more autonomy away from the Ukrainian hetman.

Muscovite influence, over which he would rule as palatine—at least this was what reports to *Propaganda Fide* were claiming.[104] Did he seek this (assuming this information is accurate) because he was a patriot or because he was greedy? Or because he was a greedy patriot? Or a patriotic megalomaniac?

Much of the literature on controversial figures of seventeenth-century Rus′ employs a "smoking-gun" model of investigation and proof. The unexpressed assumption is that, while some or much of what these individuals said or wrote is to be written off as a lie, some one body of utterances contains the truths that we can use to pin down the object of interest. The case of Vyhovs'kyj, however, would seem to suggest that some truth is to be found in the "lies"—even in the statements that are mutually contradictory—and that the "truths" may not tell the entire story.

"Babylonian confusions are not exclusively the affair of divine punishments. . . . It is the object [of cryptography, but we could also add—of diplomacy, overt and covert] to keep the flow of data under control and—through unequal distribution of information—to create power or to secure it. In cryptography God's punishment becomes strategy."[105] This double-edged rhetorical sword is applicable to Vyhovs'kyj's life in politics. A fascinating aspect of his life is the fact that he seems to have played the game so well, in such different rhetorical languages. The frustration is that in playing the game, he himself contributed to the Babylonian confusions that have made access to his identity so difficult.

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104. See Velykyj 1965:296: "ancorche il Vioski sia notoriamente sospetto di haver suggerito a Turchi il pensiero di separare l'Ucraina dalla Polonia e di erigerla in Palatinato, come la Moldavia e Valacchia."

105. Rieger 1991:193–94.

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Insight and Blindness in the Reception of Ševčenko: The Case of Kostomarov

GEORGE G. GRABOWICZ

And ye shall know the truth,
and the truth shall make you free
John 8.32

Weh dem, der zu der Wahrheit geht durch Schuld,
Sie wird ihm nimmermehr erfreulich sein.
Friedrich Schiller
"Das verschleierte Bild zu Sais"

In the broad and formal sense, the reception of Ševčenko began with the reviews in the Russian press of his first slim volume of poetry, the *Kobzar* of 1840.[1] While at times positive (and once or twice even enthusiastic), their basic imperial perspective allowed them to see only an instance of talented regional writing, highlighted by a rare lyrical sensibility; the qualities, themes and *topoi* that became touchstones in the subsequent understanding of the poet went largely unnoticed. (At the same time, one recurring leitmotif in these reviews—"Why write in Ukrainian?" or, more pointedly, "Is it not a shame for a talented writer to waste his talent writing in Ukrainian?"—did become in the course of the nineteenth century a major issue in Ukrainian-Russian literary relations.[2]) In a narrower and more essential sense the

1. Cf. T. H. Ševčenko, *Bibliohrafija literatury pro žyttja i tvorčist', 1839–1959*, ed. Je. P. Kyryljuk (Kyiv, 1963), vol. 1 (1839–1916), pp. 8–9. In all there were nine, and they appeared in virtually all the major journals of the time: *Otečestvennye zapiski, Syn otečestva, Literaturnaja gazeta, Severnaja pčela, Majak, Žurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija, Xudožestvennaja gazeta, Sovremennik,* and *Biblioteka dlja čtenija*. The same pattern obtained in the following few years; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 9–13.

2. Thus, for example, in the very first of these reviews (*Otečestvennye zapiski*, May, 1840, pt. 6, pp. 23–24) the anonymous reviewer, after briefly commenting in a favorable, but altogether superficial way on the closeness of Ševčenko's poetry to folk songs, goes on to ask, "But why does Mr. Ševčenko write in Ukrainian and not in Russian? If he has a poetic soul—many will say—why does he not convey its feelings in the Russian language?" His liberal answer to this not altogether rhetorical question is that if Mr. Ševčenko cannot express himself in Russian he should do so in "the southern dialect," and moreover since these writings, like other Ukrainian (Little Russian) writings have "a moral goal," they will be of use to the peasant reader.

Some Soviet critics have argued that the anonymous reviewer was Vissarion Belinskij. Given the fact that in his later reviews and comments on Ševčenko Belinskij was unqualifiedly negative (cf. especially his review of "Hajdamaky" in *Otečestvennye zapiski*, 1842, vol. 22, no. 5, pt. 6, pp. 12–14), the argument is not very plausible; cf. Victor Swoboda, "Shevchenko and Belinsky," in *Shevchenko and the Critics*, ed. George S. N.

reception of Ševčenko, in effect the recognition of the immense impact of the poet and his poetry, began, still during his lifetime, among his fellow Ukrainian writers, first through the rudimentary responses of such as Hryhorij Kvitka-Osnov'janenko and Jevhen Hrebinka, and then, with unexpected power and depth, through the analytical overviews of Pantelejmon Kuliš.[3] Kuliš's response to Ševčenko, covering the gamut from apologia and paean to diatribe and parody, is in fact *sui generis*, but at the same time highly indicative of (and still fundamentally unexamined in) the context and the polarities of nineteenth-century Ukrainian literature.

If one looks at the mainstream of the Ševčenko reception, however, its essential wellspring can be located most persuasively in the writings of Mykola (Nikolaj) Kostomarov. This seems particularly true if we see an inner core in that reception which conflates the roles of genius and prophet, highlights the *narod,* its implicit perspective and its virtually metaphysical value, and upon this basis proceeds to postulate a new canon of Ukrainian literature. Kostomarov's leading role in formulating this canon can already be argued on the basis of several extrinsic factors: he was one of the very first among Ukrainian writers to respond to the appearance of Ševčenko, and was the author of the first overview of nineteenth century Ukrainian literature; he indeed was the first to read Ševčenko in the context of the system of Ukrainian writing—now perceived as a new literature.[4] Along with Kuliš, he was a friend and colleague of Ševčenko in the period 1846–47 when the three

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Luckyj (Toronto, 1980), pp. 303–23. At the same time, the endorsement of Ukrainian as a language of poetry is hardly ringing.

For his part, Kostomarov turns the question around: Ukrainian writers, he says, turn to Ukrainian precisely because they can say in it what cannot be said in Russian, cf. his "Obzor sočinenij pisannyx na malorossijskom jazyke" (1842), M. I. Kostomarov, *Tvory v dvox tomax* (Kyiv, 1967), vol. 2, p. 378.

3. Cf. Kvitka's letter of October 23, 1840, in Hryhorij Kvitka-Osnov'janenko, *Tvory u vos'my tomax* (Kyiv, 1970), vol. 8, pp. 198–200; cf. also Hrebinka's footnote (in the style of *kotljarevščyna*) to Ševčenko's "Hajdamaky" in the journal *Lastivka: Lastôvka. Sočinenija na malorossijskom jazyke*. Sobral E. Grebenka (St. Petersburg, 1841), p. 371; cited as "vidzyv pro 'Hajdamaky' T. H. Ševčenka" in *Svitova velyč Ševčenka* (Kyiv, 1964), vol. 1, p. 48. See especially Kuliš's "Ob otnošenii malorossijskoj slovestnosti k obščerusskoj. Epilog k 'Černoj rade'" (1857), "Perednje slovo do hromady" (Pantelejmon Kuliš, *Tvory v dvox tomax* [Kyiv, 1989], vol. 2, pp. 504–512), "Čoho stojit' Ševčenko jako poet narodnyj" and "Slovo nad hrobom Ševčenka," in *Tvory Pantelejmona Kuliša* (L'viv, 1910), vol. 6, pp. 486–97.

4. More accurately, perhaps, a literature with a new vernacular articulation, for Kostomarov is clear on the fact that a Ukrainian (Ruthenian) literature written in a bookish language existed much earlier (he specifically speaks of Meletij Smotryc'kyj) and in fact had a major impact on the formation of Great Russian literature. Cf. his "Obzor sočinenij pisannyx na malorossijskom jazyke," in Ijeremija Halka, *Molodyk na 1844 god* (Xarkiv), no. 3, 1842 [1843], pp. 157–85; cf. also *Naukovo-publicystyčni i polemični pysannja Kostomarova*, Kyiv, 1928, pp. 41–52.

of them, in the loose structure of the so called Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius, formed the core of a Ukrainian revival that was as far reaching in its cultural and political implications as it was short lived. He was, in fact, the main theorist and spokesman of the Brotherhood and upon its suppression and the arrest of its members, the one who as a highly promising assistant professor of Russian history at Kiev University, suffered, as many then saw it, the greatest damage to his budding career.[5] After his exile in Saratov (1848–55), during which he continued his historical, literary and ethnographic research (he also perfected his Greek, learned Spanish and expanded his interests to include physics, astronomy, and archeology), served as managing editor of the *Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti*, and established close contacts with the critic M. G. Černyševskij and the future scholar A. N. Pypin, he returned to St. Petersburg. There he soon published such major historical studies as the multivolume *Bogdan Xmelnickij i vozvraščenije Južnoj Rusi k Rossii* (the first volume of which appeared in 1857) and *Bunt Stenki Razina* (1858), and the following year was appointed associate professor of Russian history at the university of St. Petersburg. In the 1860s and 1870s, Kostomarov was perhaps the most influential and popular historian in Russia.

Within the nascent Ukrainian movement Kostomarov's role was no less prominent. Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, himself a direct ideological and intellectual descendant, forcefully argues this in a lead article on "Kostomarov and Modern Ukraine" in the first issue of his newly established journal *Ukrajina*:

> May 20 of this year marks forty years since the death of Mykola Kostomarov, who died in 1885, on May 7 of the old calendar. This chronological date must remind today's generations of their unpaid debt before one of the most effective fighters against the feudal, bureaucratic, and autocratic regime of old Russia, the ideologue of Ukrainian revival and liberation—and about the unfilled gap in the history of our community movement, at the head of which the late historian, publicist, ethnographer and poet stood for several decades. For despite the great significance of his activities and his individuality, Kostomarov was much less fortunate than other Ukrainian activists of such caliber.

Hrushevs'kyj recounts how relatively little was done to collect and publish Kostomarov's works, and expresses his own sense of guilt for not being able to duly commemorate him. (As he tells it, his efforts to do so on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Kostomarov's death were curtailed by official censorship.) "And meanwhile," he continues,

> already in the period of the Cyrilo-Methodians, Kostomarov was undoubtedly the ideological leader of Ukraine. This became quite clear when *The Books of Genesis*

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5. For a contemporary perspective see the letter of M. A. Rigelman to H. P. Halahan (*Ševčenko v epistolariji* [Kyiv, 1966], pp. 15–16).

of the Ukrainian People were published; before that it was felt only intuitively. Later, after a ten-year-long "absence" and existence "under a lid," Kostomarov, from the moment of the appearance of his *Bogdan Xmel'nickij* (1857), again became the generally acknowledged ideologue of the Ukrainian cause [*ukrajinstvo*], almost until his death, and at the very least until the appearance of his "Zadači ukrajinofil'stva" (1882) through which he cut himself off from the leaders of the Ukrainian movement of that time. What he was for a full quarter of a century, 1857–1882, can be deduced from the assessment of him made by Drahomanov, who, despite cardinal differences in views, acknowledged in him a man who was a truly worthy authority for Ukrainian society—"who was most like a Ukrainian god."[6]

As such an authority, Kostomarov would repeatedly turn in his writings to Ševčenko, and his legacy, and his impact on the present state and the future prospects of the Ukrainian people. Arguably, his authority also drew its strength from his closeness to the poet-Prophet and the persuasiveness of his vision of him. For all that, the nuances of his reception of Ševčenko, and his role in codifying its populist cast, have not really been examined; and while as a result of the recent "rehabilitation" of many erstwhile "blank spots" (in effect areas of putative "nationalism") he is now discussed, the complexities of his stance remain as unknown as he himself was until recently.[7]

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Kostomarov's reception of Ševčenko is seminal in both a historical and a theoretical sense. On the manifest level it encapsulates, and disseminates, both the several key topoi—of martyr, genius and prophet—and the ambivalently cojoined attitudes of overt hero worship and covert resistance to it. While highlighting the relationship between two major figures in the Ukrainian national pantheon, this reception also delineates the complex interrelation of the *biographical* and the *autobiographical* modes, specifically of the way in which the former is continually informed by the latter, of how

6. M. Hruševs'kyj, "Kostomarov i novitnja Ukrajina," *Ukrajina* 1–2 (Kyiv, 1925), p. 3.

7. This is as true of recent studies (cf., e.g., Ju. A. Pinčuk's, *Mykola Ivanovyč Kostomarov* [Kyiv, 1992], or the insightful essay by Vadym Skurativs'kyj "Mykola Kostomarov (1817–1885)," in *Sučasnist*, no. 9, 1992, pp. 152–56), as of the older ones (e.g., Je. S. Šabliovs'kyj, "Ševčenko i Kostomarov," *Zbirnyk prac' p'jatnadcjatoji naukovoji ševčenkivs'koji konferenciji* (Kyiv, 1968), pp. 23–50, or his various earlier variants: "M. I. Kostomarov—pys'mennyk i literaturnyj dijač," *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1967, no. 1, pp. 45–57; "Spravžnij Kostomarov," *Vitčyzna*, 1967, pp. 182–92; and "Mykola Kostomarov i Ukrajina," *Žovten'*, 1967, no. 4, pp. 123–38. Cf. also I. I. Pil'huk's "M. I. Kostomarov," *Ukrajins'ka mova i literatura v školi*, 1967, no. 1, pp. 92–94 and M. Macapura, "Ševčenko i Kostomarov," *Ukrajina*, 1963, no. 6, pp. 18–19). Throughout, Kostomarov's reception of Ševčenko is depicted without reference to the problems or "contradictions" that will be raised here.

both writers present themselves according to large, collective, and ultimately transrational paradigms, above all of the *narod*, and particularly how Kostomarov determines his sense of self through his interpretation of Ševčenko.

Although the central notions of blindness and insight are articulated in Kostomarov's own writings on Ševčenko, and are themselves part of the overarching Romantic discourse, they also resonate, of course, with well-known deconstructive formulations. For Paul de Man, the basic idea that each illumination, or method of reading, is fated to generate its own shadow, its area of unseeing, is rooted in his particular insight on the nature of literary, i.e., critical, language.[8] These insights, particularly the notion that "error" of perception (as in the Freudian notion of revealing slips of the tongue) can itself cast valuable light on the process of reading, of establishing meaning, are particularly relevant here. But I also use the metaphor of insight and blindness in a broader (and less metacritical, less self-consciously theoretical) way to signify not just the medium or ontology of the critical judgment, its fatedness—by the very nature of language—to conceal-as-it-reveals, but the existential predicament of the critic/reader as well. The paradigm, therefore, is also rooted in the psychological and in the historical scene. For the former it designates the state of perceiving and misperceiving across a gamut of psychological forces and fault lines, and as for the latter, no less universally, it marks the temporal, socio-cultural contingencies inherent in all reception. It goes without saying that each of these dimensions projects a certain relativism and calls for a certain suspension of judgement. And yet, it is not a total suspension of judgement;[9] our examination of the reception, be it Kostomarov's or of any of his successors, is not totally value-free, for there is always the question of degree and nuance, particularly in the deviation from conventional wisdom and openness to the totality of the evidence, and just as the insight has value, the blindness, in its negativity, also has it. And it goes

8. "All these critics [Lukacs, Blanchot, Poulet, the American New Critics] seem curiously doomed to say something quite different from what they meant to say. Their critical stance—Lukacs's propheticism, Poulet's belief in the power of an original *cogito*, Blanchot's claim of meta-Mallarmean impersonality—is defeated by their own critical results. A penetrating but difficult insight into the nature of literary language ensues. It seems, however, that this insight could only be gained because the critics were in the grip of this peculiar blindness: their language could grope toward a certain degree of insight only because their method remained oblivious to the perception of this insight. The insight exists only for a reader in the privileged position of being able to observe the blindness as a phenomenon in its own right—the question of his own blindness being one which he is by definition incompetent to ask—and so being able to distinguish between statement and meaning." Paul de Man, *Blindness and Insight. Essays in the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism* (New York, 1971), pp. 105–106.

9. I would not be as categorical, in short, as is de Man when he asserts that "'blindness' implies no literary value-judgment." Ibid., p. 141.

without saying that charting these states once again reconfirms the value and need of revisionist readings: the "errors," "inconsistencies," and "contradictions" that Soviet criticism was so set on identifying and bemoaning are in fact the very stuff of the reception, its privileged space, as it were.

The history of Ševčenko's reception, to be sure, provides more than one illustration of conjoined insight and blindness. The major extrinsic cause for this is surely the fact that Ševčenko touched upon and was central to so many aspects of Ukrainian collective life; the intersection of the different roles that he played and that were ascribed to him, the pull of the antithetical modes in which his meaning and "essence" were couched could, and easily did lead to confusion and distortion. A striking early instance of this is the interpretation of Ševčenko's legacy by the foremost nineteenth century Ukrainian thinker, Myxajlo Drahomanov. His fundamental study on the topic of "Ševčenko, ukrajinofily i socializm," combines acute insights into the poet's social and political resonance with a systemic inability to see the poetic text in its own right, as a non-rationalistic, non-political, but at the same time integral and multi-valent code.[10] In short, Drahomanov consistently confuses the poetic with the political, and his positivism, his activist stance, and his reliance on an altogether normative literary criticism simply obscures what most would now consider the essential Ševčenko. At the same time, along with his characteristically honest and in many ways profound assessment of that larger social frame in which Ševčenko functions, Drahomanov also provides—and the true value of this was hardly perceived in his time—a dispassionate *demystification* of Ševčenko and his role. Some forty years later, speaking of the cult of Mickiewicz in Polish society and scholarship, the critic Tadeusz Boy Żelenski coined the term "de-bronzing" for the process of finding the man behind the façade of society's monument.[11] It was not the least of Drahomanov's achievements that he initiated this process in Ukrainian culture.

The other major example, Dmytro Doncov's, is even more striking in its evocation of insight and blindness, especially of the latter. As the premier publicist and ideologue of integral Ukrainian nationalism in the period between the two world wars, Doncov frequently turns to Ševčenko to illustrate and legitimize his own theses, and to arm himself with Ševčenko's

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10. M. P. Drahomanov, *Literaturno-publicystyčni praci* (Kyiv, 1970), vol. 2, pp. 7–133.

11. Cf. Tadeusz Żeleński (Boy), "Mickiewicz a my," in *Reflektorem w mrok* (Warsaw, 1984), pp. 459–84; cf. also my "Ševčenko jakoho ne znajemo," *Sučasnist'*, 1993, no. 11, pp. 100–112.

aura.[12] Specifically, Doncov proceeds to cast the poet as a touchstone and precursor for his own radical voluntarism: perhaps more than anyone before him, he perceives Ševčenko's fiery emotional core and his great power of will. Extrapolating from this, he configures Ševčenko as a nationalist ideologue *avant la lettre.*[13] Apart from the wholly unjustified and unsubstantiated imputation of political activism, this picture of Ševčenko is also thoroughly one-sided: quite absent from this ideological reconstruction is any sense of the poet's duality and doubt, of his profound scepsis and irony. While turning, to be sure, around the poet's own persona and self, these states of mind are in effect pantopic, and they radiate out to Ševčenko's multiform social and collective projections. What ultimately characterizes Doncov's method, and qualifies (or rather disqualifies) his partial and intuitive insights, however, is his all but total disregard for the evidence, indeed for the text itself. In him, in short, we see not so much a misreading of Ševčenko as a projection of self through a highly stylized set of props (which includes not only Ševčenko but such figures as Franko, Lesja Ukrajinka, Drahomanov and others) which bear only a nominal relation to their historical and existential designatum.

In the Ševčenko reception, however, Kostomarov provides not only the first, but perhaps also the most telling, the paradigmatic instance of both seeing and not seeing. The writer (and reader) who so plausibly enters history as prime interpreter and first cartographer, is also the first obfuscator, a latter-day, and almost certainly unconscious and unintentional Susanin leading the quest for the "true Ševčenko." The paradox of the blind leader of a national quest, of Moses and Susanin rolled into one, is actually intrinsic, and generic: such is perhaps the very nature of the hybrid function of poet-as-literary-historian, and misprision appears to be the inevitable outcome when a greater poet is read by a lesser one.[14]

12. Cf., for example, his *Pravda pradidiv velykyx* (Philadelphia 1952); *Tuha za herojičnym* (London, 1953); or *Dvi literatury našoji doby* (Toronto, 1958).

13. His main contention is that Ševčenko articulates a *national,* and specifically statist program, *and* that he sees the implementation of this program (and here Doncov, albeit within a different frame, is echoing the interpretations of the Bolsheviks) as being carried out by revolutionary force. While this interpretation was peculiar to the militant nationalists, the idea of Ševčenko's national program and putative statism was quite widespread in non-Soviet Ukrainian society and appeared in the writings of such as E. Malanjuk, R. Smal'-Stoc'kyj, O. Lotoc'kyj and others. It became a staple of emigré Ševčenko scholarship and commentaries, and has now been broadly revived in independent Ukraine.

14. Cf. Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence. A Theory of Poetry* (Oxford, 1973). It is ironic, perhaps, that Kostomarov devoted a major article to debunking the legend of Susanin in official Rusian historiography; cf. "Ivan Susanin. Istoričeskoe isledovanie," *Istoričeskija monografii i isledovanija Nikolaja Kostomarova,* vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1872), pp. 429–53. Cf. also his *Autobiography,* pp. 261–63.

In fact, the paradoxes of Kostomarov's reception of Ševčenko resonate within a larger and no less contradictory frame—that is, his formulation of, and his role in, Ukrainian literary history. For while even the well-informed student of Ukrainian literature is hardly attuned to the range of contradictions in Kostomarov's reading of Ševčenko, he is surely aware of the historian's ambivalent role in the large scheme of mid-nineteenth-century Ukrainian literary and indeed political history. That ambivalence, as noted by Hruševs'kyj and many others, flows from two significant historico-literary events which between them provide the antipodes of national assertiveness and (to all appearances) self-abnegation. The first, as already noted, is Kostomarov's authorship of the *Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People* [*Knyhy bytija ukrajins'koho narodu*], which in its time, that is, in the small circle of intellectuals and students that constituted the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius in the course of its brief existence (1846–47), was known simply as the "Zakon božyj" and served as their bible and program.[15] The text itself, an inspired reworking of Adam Mickiewicz's biblically cadenced "gospel for the refugees" and "manual for martyrs," the *Księgi narodu i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* (1832),[16] is Kostomarov's formulation of a transhistorical, indeed millenarian vision of Ukraine as the key to a revived Slavic community, precisely in the spirit of the Gospels: "the stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner" (Luke 20.17). In the wider context of the Ukrainian national revival of the nineteenth century, the *Knyhy bytija* are no less a cornerstone. By linking the poetics of Romanticism and a religiously tinged Slavophilism to autonomist sentiments that harken back to the *hetmanščyna,* they become the first modern Ukrainian political or protopolitical program after the *Istorija Rusov*.[17] It is almost certain that the text of the *Knyhy bytija* was not read outside the small circle of "brothers"—and the police officials involved in their suppression; the full

15. Cf. *Kyrylo Mefodijivs'ke Tovarystvo* (Kyiv, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 152–69. This three-volume publication of the complete police (Third Department) archives on the Brotherhood, its investigation and trial is an invaluable and still hardly exhausted resource. Cf. also P. A. Zajončkovskij, *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe Obščestvo (1846–1847)* (Moscow, 1959). In his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Orest Pelech stresses the informal and loose nature of the group and argues that at the time of the arrests it had, for all practical purposes, ceased functioning: *Toward a Historical Sociology of the Ukrainian Ideologues in the Russian Empire of the 1830's and 1840's*, Princeton University, 1976, pp. 206–13 and passim.

16. Cf. Wiktor Weintraub, *The Poetry of Adam Mickiewicz* (The Hague, 1954), pp. 194–207.

17. *Исторія Русовъ или Малой Россіи, сочиненіе Георгія Кониского, Архиепископа Бѣлорускаго* was published in Moscow in 1846. It was written sometime at the turn of the century and was widely circulated in manuscript form in the first decades of the 19th century.

text was published only in 1918.[18] But with a twist of poetic justice, its prepolitical, millenarian message regarding Ukraine's past, present and future was reformulated and given the broadest possible dissemination—precisely in the poetry of Ševčenko. And Kostomarov—whether as author of the *Knyhy bytija*, or as contributor to Ševčenko's broadly resonant message of national reassertion and revival—seemed to have his role in that revival permanently assured.

Or, perhaps, not altogether permanently. In his later years Kostomarov comes to be identified with a defensive reading of Ukrainian literary, and by extension political life, that in the eyes of succeeding generations, and especially in the light of nationalist thinking, appears as nothing less than a betrayal of the nation's cause. At issue is his formulation, and espousal, of Ukrainian literature as a literature "for home use," as a literature expressly intended for and focused on "the people," the *narod*, as an addendum to the imperial or "high" Russian literature, an addendum not in a regional, but in a "class" sense, so to speak. Kostomarov's movement towards this reading is already clearly visible in his 1871 article in Gerbel's well-known anthology, *Poezija slavjan,* in which he speaks, on the one hand, of the best in Ukrainian literature—Ševčenko—as intrinsically and exclusively the voice of the common folk (in all their dignity, authenticity, beauty and pathos, to be sure), and on the other of the impossibility, the artificiality of trying to raise the Ukrainian language, and hence, too, works written in it, to the level of normal, that is, educated and sophisticated discourse.[19] Concomitant with

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18. Cf. Pavlo Zajcev's publication of M. Kostomarov, "Knyhy bytija ukrajins'koho narodu", *Naše mynule*, 1918, no. 1, pp. 7–35, cf. also *Kyrylo-Mefodijivs'ke Tovarystvo*, vol. 1, pp. 12–14.

19. N. V. Gerbel', *Poèzija slavjan, Sbornik poetičeskix proizvedenij slavjanskix narodov v perevodax russkix pisatelej, izdannyj pod redakcieju Nik. Vas. Gerbelja* (St. Petersburg, 1871), pp. 160–2. Kostomarov is much more categorical about this in "Zadači ukrainofil'stva" (*Vestnik Evropy,* 1882, vol. 1, bk. 2), the article which, as Hruševs'kyj notes, signalled his final break with the Ukrainian movement. To be sure, in principle, he does see a purpose in translating world literature into Ukrainian, but with qualifications:

We fully share the desire to see the Ukrainian language developed to the degree that one can, without straining, convey everything which constitutes the achievements of cultured language, but this requires time and a considerable improvement in the intellectual horizon of the *narod*.

His conclusion, however, is harsh:

Better leave the Byrons, Mickiewiczes etc. in peace and not attempt forcefully to forge words and expressions which are not understood by the *narod*; and indeed the works themselves for which these things are crafted are not comprehensible to the common man and at the present are not called for. As to the class of the intelligentsia in Little Russia, such translations are even more unnecessary, since they can become acquainted with all of this either in the original or in translations into the all-Russian language, which they know as well as their native Ukrainian dialect.

Naukovo-publicystyčni i polemični pysannja Kostomarova, pp. 296–97 and 298.

this is his claim (rooted in the loyalist attitudes of the eighteenth-century Cossack *staršyna,* and animating nineteenth-century Ukrainian federalist thinking, particularly in Drahomanov) that the Russian language (he uses the key nineteenth-century term: *obščerusskij*) is the common product and patrimony of both the Great Russian and the Ukrainian people.[20] But the concluding note in that article, the reference to the Valuev circular of 1863, which began the official Russian campaign against the Ukrainian printed word, is most telling as it throws light on the external circumstances—the atmosphere of growing repression and fear of even harsher measures. Kostomarov's later writings clearly reflect the impact of further official sanctions against the Ukrainian movement, particularly the Ems ukaz of 1876, as well as the officially sanctioned ukrainophobia in the Russian press.[21] His entire discussion of Ukrainian literature, and Ukrainophilism, as the Ukrainian national movement was then known, is couched largely in defensive terms—the need for popular education, support for the disenfranchised peasantry, and so on.[22] The notion of a "literature for home use," a literature implicitly confined to peasant themes and a popular (or populist) audience, a literature in which translations from Byron or Mickiewicz have no *raison d'être*, is a logical construct of this defensiveness, and even more so an inevitable end product of the logic of his own fundamental populism. Even if we understand his motivation, however, we cannot be blind to his denial of full or normal stature to Ukrainian literature, and the nation that stands behind it.[23] And the fact remains that the historian and writer who more than any other figure in Russia in the third quarter of the nineteenth century represented and defended the Ukrainian cause, was also the one who for all practical purposes condemned it to essential secondariness.[24]

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20. Thus in Gerbel: "Кроме того сознавалось что общерусский язык никак не исключительно великорусский, а в равной степени и малорусский." Gerbel', *Poezija slavjan*, p. 163. Cf. also Semen Divovyč, "Razhovor Velykorossii s Malorossijeju" (1762) and M. Drahomanov, "Literatura rosijs'ka, velykorus'ka, ukrajins'ka i halyc'ka," *Literaturno-publicystyčni praci u dvox tomax* (Kyiv, 1970), vol. 1, pp. 80–220.

21. Regarding the Ems ukaz and the political and intellectual atrmosphere of the time, cf. Fedir Savčenko, *The Suppression of the Ukrainian Activities in 1876* (Munich, 1970).

22. Cf. also my "Russian-Ukrainian Literary Relations: A Formulation of the Problem," in Peter J. Potichnyj et al., eds., *Ukraine and Russia in their Historical Encounter* (Edmonton, Alberta, 1992), pp. 214–44.

23. Halyna Mukhina in her "Teorija 'xatn'oho vžytku'. Do stolittja smerty Mykoly Kostomarova," *Sučasnist'*, Feb. 1986, no. 2 (298), pp. 31–41, defends Kostomarov as purportedly not really meaning it. Her argument is unpersuasive and at variance with the published record.

24. One should note that the notion of a literature "for home use" had in fact already been laid down by Belinskij, who in his various writings on Ukrainian topics, but particularly in his review of the almanac "Lastivka" and Kvitka's "Svatannja na Hončarivci," categorically answered his own question of "должно ли и можно ли писать по-малороссийски ?" by

Somehow he was both a beacon and an obstacle on the path of national revival, both a source of light and a distorting presence for the national perspective. Indeed because of him, and his experience, we are forced to ask ourselves as to the real content of the idea of "national perspective." How is it possible, in other words, that someone of his centrality and stature could go so "wrong?"

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Kostomarov's reading and reconstruction of Ševčenko can be captured in several keys or *topoi*, each of which projects a contradiction, a self-deconstruction, and also an (apparently unconscious) assertion-*cum*-negation of the object of his depiction. They are presented here in an order of ascending complexity, both in the psychological and the historical sense: Ševčenko as (1) a man, (2) a historical and (3) a universal phenomenon, and (4) as a poet. The first and the fourth keys are personal and turn specifically on Kostomarov's relation to Ševčenko. The second and the third relate to Ševčenko's collective resonance. In large measure, the latter two aspects, of poet and of universal phenomenon, continue to inform the ongoing, popular reception of Ševčenko, and thus illustrate Kostomarov's exceptional role in shaping Ševčenko's collective image and mythical presence.

1. ŠEVČENKO THE MAN

In late 1875 Kostomarov wrote a brief piece entitled "Vospominanija o Ševčenko," which in the following year became one of two short introductory articles to volume I of the Prague edition of Ševčenko's poetry.[25] He begins

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saying that the higher strata of Ukrainian society had long outgrown Ukrainian ("это общество выражает свои чувства и понятия не на малороссийском, а на русском и даже на французском языках") and that whatever will be written in Ukrainian will invariably be confined by peasant topics and peasant perspectives. And that, to him, is hardly an alluring prospect: "Хороша литература, которая только и дышит, что простоватостию крестьянского языка и дубоватостию крестьянского ума!"; cf. V. G. Belinskij, *Polnoe Sobranie Sočinenij* (Moscow, 1954), vol. 5, pp. 176–79; here: pp. 177 and 179.

The contiguities notwithstanding, Kostomarov's attitude toward this general position, and specifically to Belinskij, still needs to be examined. At the same time, in the overall process of Ukrainian literature, above all the multifaceted *kotljarevščyna* and the general *narodnyctvo* with which he clearly resonated, the ground had already been laid for reconsidering (decentering) the relationship between "the principal" and "the secondary." For an interesting metathematic elaboration of this relationship see Virgil Nemoianu, *A Theory of the Secondary. Literature, Progress, and Reaction* (Baltimore and London, 1989). Cf. also my forthcoming study, *The Meanings of "Kotljarevščyna."*

25. T. Ševčenko, *Kobzar, z dodatkom spomynok pro Ševčenka Kostomarova i Mykešyna*, 2 vols., ed. F. Vovk and O. Rusiv (Prague, 1876), pp. vi–xii. This, it should be noted, was the first uncensored edition of Ševčenko's poetry.

his recollection with a disclaimer that to anyone acquainted with the biographies of these two men would appear somewhat overstated. "Although in many respects my fate was the same as Ševčenko's," he says,

> I cannot really boast of any particular closeness to him, and in this respect I knew people who had much closer spiritual ties to him than I, and who were much better acquainted than I with the details of his life.[26]

If not hyperbole, it would seem to be a classical modesty topos. It is not a solitary instance, however. Four years later, in a letter to M. I. Semevskij, editor and publisher of *Russkaja starina*, Kostomarov again returns to it in describing his relationship to Ševčenko:

> You asked me to comment on my acquaintance with T. H. Ševčenko, assuming, on your part, my closeness to the late poet. Although I already have had occasion to speak of him in print, I will again, by your leave, recount the honest and true story [*iskrennjuju i pravdivuju istoriju*] of my acquaintance with that personality, on the understanding that you will use what I write in a manner you find most suitable. In general, it would be a mistake to think that I was particularly close and friendly to him; on the contrary, my friendship with him occupied only an insignificant part of our lives, and, as later became apparent, I was unaware of much of what happened with him, and I learned of it from his other friends: with me he was much less friendly and open than he was with many others. My closeness to him was almost exclusively literary, whereas some others were close to him not as to a Ukrainian poet, but simply as to a man.[27]

Again, perhaps, a modesty topos, but with striking undertones: the allegation (with more than a hint of hurt) that other friends were allowed to become closer to him ("with me he was much less friendly and open than he was with many others"), the opposition of the literary and the personal, and with it the veiled suggestion that the literary association that fell upon him was somehow part of the public domain, and even superficial, and the wholly unexpected, indeed egregious assertion that "my friendship with him occupied only an insignificant part of our lives." To anyone attuned to Ukrainian history, and the Ukrainian national revival, and the role of the individual ("Genius") within both—and Kostomarov was quintessentially so attuned—this last assertion is stunning. For to suggest that their friendship, the first part of which was coterminous with their admittedly short,[28] but

26. Ibid., p. vi; cf. also *Spohady pro Tarasa Ševčenka* (Kyiv, 1982), p. 145.

27. "Pis'mo N. I. Kostomarova k izdatelju-redaktoru 'Russkoj stariny' M. I. Semevskomu," *Russkaja starina* 1880, bk. 3, March, pp. 597–610; cited in *T. G. Ševčenko v vospominanijax sovremennikov* (Moscow, 1962), p. 154.

28. By his own account, in the "Vospominanija o Ševčenko" that appeared in the Prague edition (cf. n. 33), this was a matter of slightly less than a year, from May of 1846 to late March, 1847, when all the members of the Brotherhood were arrested by the police. In his

unquestionably formative participation in the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius, was somehow an "insignificant" part of their lives is to deny meaning to both the history and the revival—and to what was central in the lives of both individuals. In light of the known facts, however, all of Kostomarov's self-deprecations, and not just the last denial, appear to be wide of the mark.

Evidence of a relationship that must have been much closer and certainly more intense than what these disclaimers suggest comes in various forms. One source is Kostomarov's own *Autobiography*, beginning with an early variant published in 1885.[29] His first mention of Ševčenko stresses the speed and ease with which they established rapport. "On the very next day," he says, "we were using the familiar form of address [*govorili drug drugu 'ty'*]."[30] And both in this, and in the later, more extensive authorized version, he speaks of the depth of the bond between them:

> This was the most active period for his talent, the apogee of his spiritual strength. I saw him frequently and was thrilled by his works, many of which, still unpublished, he let me see in manuscript. Frequently we would spend long evenings together, long into the night, and with the coming of spring we would frequently meet in the small orchard of the Suxostavskij's, which had a purely Ukrainian character...[31]

The relationship was resumed more than ten years later—after Kostomarov's altogether lenient and productive administrative exile in Saratov and Ševčenko's incomparably harsher sentence as a front-line soldier (officially forbidden to write or paint) in the steppes of Orenburg and on the shores of the Aral and Caspian Seas. During his exile Ševčenko corresponded with Kostomarov and on his way back to St. Petersburg, in the summer of 1857, stopped to visit Kostomarov's mother in Saratov. He stayed a few hours and left with her a poem dedicated to her son, "N. Kostomarovu" ("Vesele sonečko xovalos'...") from the superb cycle of poems "V kazemati"

Autobiography Kostomarov suggests that they met shortly after his mother arrived in Kyiv on February 1, 1846; cf. N. I. Kostomarov, *Avtobiografija; Bunt Stenki Razina* (Kyiv, 1992), p. 133. This is but one of many factual inconsistencies, however.

29. An abbreviated "Avtobiografija Nikolaja Ivanoviča Kostomarova" was published in *Russkaja mysl'*, May, no. 5–6, 1885. It was dictated by Kostomarov to N. A. Bilozers'ka, but apparently not verified by him, and thus it has been questioned as an "objective source" (cf. N. I. Kostomarov, *Istoričeskie proizvedenija. Avtobiografija* [Kyiv, 1990], p. 706). In spite of that, it is often cited, and its references to the topic at hand seem more forthcoming; cf. below.

30. *T. G. Ševčenko v vospominanijax sovremennikov* (Kyiv, 1962), p. 149. In the later, authorized version Kostomarov says much the same, if more drily: "Uznavši o nem [Ševčenko] ja poznakomilsja s nim i s pervogo že raza sblizilsja." *Istoričeskie proizvedenija. Avtobiografija,* p. 475.

31. Ibid., p. 475.

depicting the time of their mutual imprisonment in St. Petersburg in 1847. In this poem, which Kostomarov later quite accurately describes as one of Ševčenko's best,[32] he addresses Kostomarov as "brother," evokes in his (Kostomarov's) grieving mother an image that foreshadows the universal grieving mother in "Neofity" and later (as Mary, the Mother of God) in "Marija," and finds a new level in his treatment of the perennial themes of solitude and expiation:

...І батько й мати в домовині
І жалем серце запеклось,
Що нікому мене згадати!
Дивлюсь—твоя, мій брате, мати,
Чорніше чорної землі,
Іде, з хреста неначе знята...
Молюся! Господи молюсь!
Хвалить тебе не перестану!
Що я ні з ким не поділю
Мою тюрму, мої кайдани!

A year after that the two finally met again. As Kostomarov describes it in his "Vospominanija":

In the summer of 1858, while in St. Petersburg, I looked up Ševčenko and saw him for the first time after a separation of many years. I found him in the Academy of Arts, where he had received a studio. Taras Hryhorovyč did not recognize me, and looking at me from head to toes shrugged his shoulders and said decisively that he cannot guess the name of the person before him. When I gave him my name he threw himself on my neck and cried for a long time.[33]

Their contacts during the next two and a half years were, with but a few hiatuses, regular and frequent: when at the end they were meeting once or twice a week, Kostomarov characterizes this as "not so frequently." He was one of the last to see Ševčenko before his death:

Hearing that Ševčenko was sick I visited him twice, and on the second time in February, a few days before his death, I heard from him that he was fully recovered; in the course of this he showed me a new gold watch he had just bought—the first in his life. He promised to drop in on me soon.[34]

32. Cf. his letter to M. I. Semevskij, *T. G. Ševčenko v vospominanijax sovremennikov* (Kyiv, 1962), p. 159.
33. "Vospominanija o Ševčenko," in *T.G. Ševčenko v vospominanijax sovremennikov* (Kyiv, 1962), p. 145.
34. Ibid., p. 146.

The account concludes with Ševčenko's death, his funeral, and the efforts of the Ukrainian community of St. Petersburg to transfer his remains to a final resting place on the Dnieper. Kostomarov makes no mention of his own role in these events, or of the feelings they evoked in him. There is, however, a nuanced discordant note that runs through the restrained tone and somewhat dry diction of this piece—Ševčenko's apparent reluctance, as Kostomarov sees it, to bare his soul, to discuss his poetry, to speak of his exile, or of his ill-fated attempt at marriage (to Lykeria Polusmakova), or to discuss the "unpleasant history" (i.e., his arrest) during his 1859 trip to Ukraine.

The version of their relationship in the subsequent letter to Semevskij is considerably richer in detail and mellower in tone, and in its overall effect it confirms a sense of genuine depth to their friendship while at the same time throwing into sharper relief the initial disclaimer which seems to cast doubt as to whether there was a close friendship at all. In addition to expanding on such key moments as their first meeting, or their reunion after a decade of exile, it brings to light events which further illuminate both their relationship and the character of Ševčenko (and, obliquely, that of Kostomarov as well), events and details which we find in no other sources. The particular key into which they tend to fall is that of Ševčenko's "*čudačestvo*." Thus when Kostomarov learns (in early June of 1846) that he was unanimously elected to the Chair of Russian history at the University of St. Vladimir in Kiev he first shares the news with Ševčenko, whom he had just met in the street. Overjoyed at his friend's good fortune Ševčenko starts singing a Ukrainian folk song:

> People were passing us by and Ševčenko, paying no attention to what was occurring around us, was belting out his song virtually at the top of his voice. It was a paroxysm of eccentricity [*čudačestva*] reminding one of the ancient Zaporozhian Cossacks, something which showed through in our poet, albeit rather infrequently.[35]

On another occasion (just after their reunion in St. Petersburg, when the two, as Kostomarov notes, were meeting every day) they agree to go to a bookstore to search for rare books. "Ševčenko appeared," Kostomarov writes,

> and proceeded to walk with me along the Nevsky Prospekt dressed in a white jacket, tattered and covered in paint, in bad shoes, in a worn and torn cap on his head, his appearance reminding one of Kozak Holota from the Ukrainian *duma* or a *činovnik* drunk and expelled from work turning to passers-by with the cry: "please help a poor nobleman." That this was a rather unique eccentricity was reflected in the fact that neither before or after did Ševčenko go out in such a fashion.[36]

35. Ibid., p. 156.
36. Ibid., p. 161.

Still again, there is the time when Kostomarov asks the visiting Ševčenko to leave so he can prepare his lectures for the next day; Ševčenko leaves, but goes to the inn next door and pays the musicians there to loudly play precisely those arias which Kostomarov had told him he hates.[37] Clearly, the "*čudačestvo*" expresses unconventionality and personal freedom, and, not least of all, *épatage* of the straight-laced professor.

We also see from this account that Ševčenko was hardly as reticent about his poems as Kostomarov suggested in the "Vospominanija": as described here, he "frequently" and "gladly" showed them in manuscript form and allowed Kostomarov to see (or, as he later put it, "to peer into") the very process of their creation.[38] The degree to which this access actually shaped Kostomarov's understanding of the poetry is a separate matter.

Finally, there is the revealing hint of a trait (and a modality) which while muted in Kostomarov's discussion of the man and the friend, becomes central in his consideration of the poet. It is the quality of prescience, *proročestvo*.[39] Apart from the defining role that it will play in his understanding of poetry-as-inspiration (a formulation which, like the political and historiosophic notion of messianism, Kostomarov is most likely to have absorbed from his reading of Mickiewicz), this quality of *proročestvo* clearly resonates with those features of openness, spontaneity, and "eccentricity" which Kostomarov is quick to perceive (if not unequivocally applaud) in Ševčenko. Along with

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37. "Часа два сряду," Kostomarov continues, "мучила меня эта музыка, наконец не стало терпения: понимая, что это Шевченко нарочно дразнит меня я вбежал в трактир и умолял его, ради человеколюбия, перестать терзать меня такою пыткою." Ibid., p. 162.

38. "В разговорах о своих литературных занятиях, он был со мною сообщательнее, чем о своих прошлых житейских приключениях; он часто и охотно делился своими стихотворениями, еще не видавшими света, иное произносил на память, другое читал по собственноручной рукописи, и самую рукопись, по моему желанию, оставлял у меня на время."

These manuscripts also included that most precious of Ševčenko's autographs, and now a virtual relic of Ševčenkiana, the "Mala knyžka," in which he wrote down his "bootleg poetry" of 1847–1850. As Kostomarov describes it:

Между прочим, показывал он мне тогда маленькую переплетенную книжечку, в которой написаны были произведения того горького времени, когда он находился в военной службе. Ему тогда было запрещено писать, и он держал эту книжечку не иначе как в сапоге на своей ноге, и, по собственным словам его, если бы у него нашли эту книжечку, то подвергся бы он жесточайшей отвественности уже за одно то, что осмелился писать, вопреки высочайшему запрещению, не говоря о том, что большая половина стихотворений, написанных его рукою в этой книжечке, была по содержанию нецензурного свойства. Ibid., pp. 162–63.

39. Thus, their last prison meeting after interrogation and before exile: "После допроса, возвращаясь в свой номер и идя рядом со мною, Тарас Григорьевич происнес мне по-малорусски: 'Не журися Миколо; доведеться ще нам укупі жити'. (Не унывай, Николай, еще доведется нам жить вместе). Эти последние слова, слышанные тогда от Шевченко, оказались впоследствии по отношению к нам обоим пророческими." Ibid., p. 158.

the qualities of strength and resiliency[40] these traits coalesce into an image of Ševčenko as a quintessential natural man. And again, the question is precisely the degree to which this paradigm facilitates or impedes a better understanding of both man and poet.

The nature of the relationship between Ševčenko and Kostomarov is also illuminated by a variety of external evidence. The extant epistolary legacy between them is rather meager—five letters by Kostomarov and one by Ševčenko—and the small output most probably caused by the inadvisability of two political offenders maintaining a correspondence.[41] In these letters, however, there is a real warmth of feeling—which is maintained throughout and which contrasts in no small measure with the hot and cold cast of the correspondence between Ševčenko and Kuliš.[42] A telling instance of this warmth (which Kostomarov, however, does not bring out in his recollections) is the fact that he asked Ševčenko to be best man at his wedding; indeed Ševčenko was arrested dressed in formal tails and on his way to the ceremony.[43] For his part, too, Ševčenko reciprocated this warmth, as we see

40. There is ample evidence, particularly in the official transcripts of the inquest (cf. *Kyrylo-Mefodijivs'ke Tovarystvo*, passim), that of all the accused, Ševčenko was by far the least apologetic and most self-possessed in the course of the trial; cf. below. Kostomorov's recollections fully bear this out: "Во все время производства следствия Тарас Григорьевич был неизменно бодр, казался спокойним и даже веселым. Перед допросом какой-то жандармский офицер сказал ему: 'Бог милостив, Тарас Григорьевич: вы оправдаетесь, и вот тогда-то запоет ваша муза'. Шевченко отвечал по-малорусски: "Не який чорт нас усіх сюди заніс, коли не ся бісова муза!' (Не какой черт нас всех сюда занес, как не эта проклятая муза!)." Ibid., p. 158.

41. Cf. Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv u šesty tomax*, vol. 6 (Kyiv, 1964) and *Lysty do T.H. Ševčenka, 1840–1861* (Kyiv, 1962). The hypothesis of political expediency is supported by the fact that Ševčenko's correspondence with Kuliš, for example, picks up only when he (Ševčenko) is released from exile. Thus Kuliš's first letter to Ševčenko after their arrest is dated Nov. 26, 1857 (Ševčenko received word of his impending release on April 7, 1857); however, on June 17 he writes in his *Diary* that he had already received some books from Kuliš, particularly the first volume of his *Zapiski o Južnoj Rusi*.

42. Telling in this respect is the first letter Kostomarov wrote to Ševčenko after the latter was released from exile and in Nižnyj Novgorod, on his way to St. Petersburg (October 28, 1857; cf. *Lysty do Ševčenka*. p. 107. Ševčenko's response is also revealing in its mixture of irony, good humor and genuine concern:

..получил письмо от Костомарова из Саратова. Ученый чудак пишет, что напрасно прождал меня две недели в Петербурге и не хотел сделать ста верста кругу, чтобы посетить меня в Нижнем. А сколько бы радости привез своим внезапным появлением. Ничего не пишет мне о своих глазах и вообще о своем здоровьи.

Diary, Nov. 5, 1857; *Povne zibrannja tvoriv*, vol. 5, p. 162.

43. Kostomarov, by this time, was already in jail in St. Petersburg. The circumstances of Ševčenko's arrest led to Funduklej's (the Kyivan governor's) witticism—"Где жених там и боярин..."; cf. Pavlo Zajcev, *Žyttja Tarasa Ševčenka* (New York, 1955), pp. 168–69.

from the poem, from his letter, and the various references to Kostomarov in his Diary.[44] This, of course, was also evident to various contemporaries.[45]

Ševčenko's death, as we learn from various sources, had a devastating effect on Kostomarov. The account by S. N. Terpigorov of Kostomarov's appearance at Ševčenko's graveside is particularly moving:

> Kostomarov stood without a hat, in a raccoon coat that had slipped off one shoulder, looking lost and as if he had been weeping. At the time he seemed unspeakably grief stricken and orphaned. Someone, I think it was Kuliš, was standing next to him and saying something to him, but he did not hear him and was continually turning his head this way and that, waiting for something: for the moment when they would bring in, in order to lower into the grave, his bosom friend [*ego zakadyčnogo druga*] Ševčenko, or for something else, but standing as if weighed down by some burden, he was continually turning his head, getting caught up in his coat until at the end he suddenly stumbled and fell. I rushed to him and along with some others who had run up helped him get up and in some way clean himself from the mud, sand and earth that clung to him. "Thank you, thank you, I am grateful"—he mumbled through his tears, catching those who helped him and squeezing their hand—"Oh Lord, Lord, what a loss!" he kept repeating...[46]

From that time on, the memory of Ševčenko continued as a major focus for Kostomarov's activities. On April 14, 1861, at a literary evening dedicated to Ševčenko that was held at the University, Kostomarov read his memoiristic essay "Vospominanie o dvux maljarax," which he also published that month in *Osnova.* At the end of April he again spoke to those assembled at the transhumation of Ševčenko's remains from St. Petersburg to Ukraine, urging them to continue the cause begun by Ševčenko, and, as later reported in police sources, casting himself as executor of his will.[47] In the months and years that followed Kostomarov repeatedly wrote about Ševčenko, was co-editor of the 1867 St. Petersburg edition of his poetry, helped organize annual celebrations devoted to his memory, and, despite growing official repression, would even read at such celebrations Ševčenko's proscribed works.[48] As recounted by his widow, Kostomarov, in the last days of his

44. Cf., e.g., the entries for September 22 and 23, and for October 16, 1857.

45. Cf., e.g., the memoirs of E. F. Tolstaja-Junge, "Vospominanija o Ševčenko," *T.G.Ševčenko v vospominanijax sovremennikov* (Moscow, 1962), pp. 279–80 and 457.

46. S. N. Terpigorov, "Vospominanija,"*Istoričeskij vestnik*, 1896, no. 4, pp. 57–58, cited in Je. Šabliovs'kyj, "Ševčenko i Kostomarov," *Zbirnyk prac' p'jatnadcjatoji naukovoji Ševčenkivs'koji konferenciji* (Kyiv, 1968), pp. 42–43.

47. Cf. Je. Šabliovs'kyj, "Ševčenko i Kostomarov," p. 44.

48. Ibid., p. 46. The climate of these years (particularly the 1870s) is best conveyed by Kostomarov himself: "К большому сожалению, в последнее время мы замечаем такое явление: чуть только появится в свет малороссийская книжка—в газете считают обязанностью говорить не о том, хороша ли она или дурна, а начинают толковать, что писать по-малорусски отнюдь не следует. Недоброжелательство ко всему

life, pushed about in his wheelchair, would turn to speak to the bust of his long-dead friend.[49] And characteristically, after his death, Kostomarov was remembered, among other things, as one of Ševčenko's closest friends.[50]

How, then, is one to reconcile this evidence with his disclaimers—that he was not really close to Ševčenko, that he did not really know him very well? Are they not a denial of a major facet of his life, and, to the extent that he saw himself as an apostle of a new cause, a distant echo of Peter denying Christ (with the denial made all the more puzzling in that it comes not at the beginning but at the end of a fruitful apostolic career)? At the very least, do they not appear to be a remarkable contradiction of the evidence, a willful and apparently self-abasing blindness to the objective existence and import of this relationship?

The nature of this problem—Kostomarov's psychology, his possible motivation—does not allow for definitive answers. As in any such case we can only postulate hypotheses, and perhaps also pose some further questions. We can also take note of a few salient points. The first stems from the narrative momentum of the autobiographic mode. It is evident, for example, that for Kostomarov the treatment of "Ševčenko-the-man" invariably becomes that of "Ševčenko-the-friend." Perhaps it is precisely here that he finds something lacking, an absence of sorts. Somehow, in the secondary elaboration of his recollections this friendship was not all it could have been, or all that he wanted it to be. Just as the somewhat staid professor, as we see from his own account, is at times the foil for, or, as we could now say, is deconstructed by the poet's blithe spirit, so Kostomarov's version of Ševčenko-the-man, which is indeed the attempt to reconstruct Ševčenko-as-friend, is overshadowed (more accurately perhaps: overexposed) by his awareness of Ševčenko-the-Poet. Significantly, in the *Autobiography* which he wrote in the last years of his life, the first mention of Ševčenko, and of their first meeting and quick friendship is further qualified as "this was the most active period for his talent, the apogee of his spiritual strength."[51] It would seem that poetry, whose power he can evoke with high Romantic eloquence, and specifically Ševčenko's poetry, into which he has

малорусскому доходит до того, что, кажется, скоро станут признавать неприличным в порядочном обществе заводить речь о малороссийском народе и его языке. Пора бы хотя людям здравомыслящим, оставить такой фальшивый путь и начать обращаться с произведениями малорусского слова так же, как и с происведениями на каждом другом языке." "Zadači ukrainofil'stva," *Vestnik Evropy*, 1882, vol. 1, bk. 2; cf. also *Naukovo-publicystyčni i polemični pysannja Kostomarova*, p. 293.

49. A. Kostomarova, "Poslednie dni žizni N. I. Kostomarova," *Kievskaja starina*, 1895, vol. 4, pp. 13–14. Cited in Šabliovs'kyj, p. 50.

50. Cf. A. N. Pypin's necrology in *Vestnik Evropy*, 1885, no. 5, pp. 411–26, here p. 417.

51. N. I. Kostomarov, *Istoričeskie proizvedenija. Avtobiografija* (Kyiv, 1990), p. 475.

demonstrably unique insights, becomes the agency which blinds him to the values and reality of his own human experience—the friendship that was really there, but which his high standards led him to doubt and deny—or, perhaps, not so much standards as a very human hurt (evident also in analogous responses by Kuliš) that his special insight into the value of Ševčenko's muse was not rewarded (as he saw it) with commensurate attention (from the poet above all, but from others as well). Whatever the reason, the opposition between the poet-as-man and the poet-as-Genius will become an essential structure in his overall understanding of Ševčenko. From it, too, flows the further epistemological tension (which is only implicit in his biographical and autobiographical accounts) that "knowledge of Ševčenko" has various levels of meaning, and that there may be a great divide between knowing him and truly knowing him.

2. ŠEVČENKO, HISTORY, AND RUSSIA

Kostomarov's conception of the context in which Ševčenko appears, the historical as well as the implicitly political frame for his life and work, is fully consistent with his understanding of the role of Ukrainian literature within the larger Imperial Russian context and, beyond that, with his general federalist and basically conservative perception of Ukrainian-Russian literary, cultural, and political relations. What is consistent and plausible on the level of ideas, however, can become dissonant and false in the reading of the poet.

At its most concrete, this is a matter of recurring formulations. Thus, Kostomarov concludes his "Vospominanija o Ševčenko" in the Prague *Kobzar* with "[Of Ševčenko] as a man I can say that I know him to have been an impeccably honest personality, deeply loving his nation and his language, but without fanatical hostility to everything foreign."[52] One must, of course, accept the statement at face value; and the ideas contained in each of its clauses—love of one's own and lack of hostility to others—are both commendable. The juxtaposition, however, especially the implication of having to make it, is troubling, and tellingly defensive. And one cannot but hear a foreshadowing of Tyčyna's "Poete ljubyty svij kraj ne je zločyn—koly ce dlja vsix." Much earlier, this leitmotif also sounded in Kostomarov's graveside oration, where he stressed that Ševčenko's grave is not surrounded by foreigners, that he had become native to the Great Russians as well, and that the power of poetry transcends local origins and is imbued with universal

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52. "Vospominanija o Ševčenko," in *T.G. Ševčenko v vospominanijax sovremennikov*, p. 147.

meaning.[53] And here, too, the claim and value of universal significance is unimpeachable. But the clearest articulation of this line of reasoning appears in his "Vospominanie o dvux maljarax," a text which Kostomarov wrote soon after Ševčenko's death, and which he read, as noted above, at the commemorative evening for Ševčenko on April 14, 1861. It also contains this note:

> Having suffered all his life, Ševčenko at the end of his days was surrounded by well-earned fame. His native land, Ukraine, saw in him her national poet; the Great Russians and the Poles acknowledged in him a great poetic gift. He was not a poet of a narrow, exclusive nationality: his poetry took higher flight. He was an all-Russian poet, a poet not of the Ukrainian people, but of the Russian nation generally, even though he wrote in one of the two historically existing dialects of that nation, the one which had remained within the folk sphere, and had not been subjected to enforced changes in school, and was therefore more suitable for giving Russia a poet truly of the people.[54]

Kostomarov's goal, of course, is to argue Ševčenko's universality, and this, especially when contrasted with narrow, ethnic parochialism (*tesnoj isključitel'noj narodnosti*), cannot but appear—then as now—as an

53. "Поэт не остался чуждым и для Великорусского племени, которое воспитало его, оценило и приютило в последнии дни его, после долгих житейских страданий...

Такова сила поэзии! В какой-бы исключительной форме ни проявлялась она, как-бы тесно ни соединялась она с народностью и местностью,—ее общечеловеческий смысл не может укрытся и сделятся общим достоянием."

Naukovo-publičystycni i polemični pysannja Kostomarova, "Slovo nad hrobom Ševčenka," p. 85. Understandably, the first part of this passage became a major topos in Soviet treatments of the subject (cf. Šabliovs'kyj: "...Костомаров не тільки не протиставляє Шевченка Росії, а навпаки трактує провідні ідеї творчості Кобзаря в світлі єдності й нерозривності українського й російського народів, їх історичного співробітництва й рівноправності." Šabliovs'kyj, "Ševčenko i Kostomarov," p. 48. The last word here is also an echo of the relatively liberal mid-1960s).

54. Since in this passage Kostomarov uses the term *narod* and its cognates in at least three or four different senses (as nation/ethnos, people/population, folk/common people, etc.), it is essential to also look at the original formulation:

Пространдавши всю жизнь, Шевченко, пред концом дней своих, был облечен заслуженной славою. Его родина—Малороссия—видела в нем своего народного поэта; Великороссияне и Поляки признавали в нем великое поэтическое дарование. Он не был поэтом тесной исключительной народности; его поэзия приняла более высокий полет. Это был поэт общерусский, поэт народа не малорусского, а вобще русского народа, хотя и писал на одном из двух искони существовавших наречий этого народа, оставшемся внутри народной сферы, не испытавшем школьных изменений и потому-то более способном для того, чтоб дать России истинно народного поэта. "Vospominanie o dvux maljarax," *Naukovo-publicystyčni i polemični pysannja Kostomarova,* p. 89.

It is also clear that the term "russkij" is used basically synonymously with "East Slavic" or "Rusian," what in Ukrainian would be "rus'kyj." For its part, this is also consonant with Kostomarov's ideological reading of the nature and future of Ukraine within Russia; cf. below.

unassailable value. The fact—supported by massive biographical evidence and clear literary resonance—that Ševčenko spoke with seemingly equal power to his Russian and Polish as well as to his Ukrainian readers, needed to be perceived, articulated and inscribed into the emerging canon; and it is to Kostomarov's credit that he was the first to do so. But he also does more, or indeed—in a manner quite specific to his time, and his own ideology and temperament—less. For the universality that is postulated in the first part of the quoted passage ("...the Great Russians and the Poles acknowledged in him a great poetic gift. He was not a poet of a narrow, exclusive nationality: his poetry took higher flight") is redefined, or concretized in mid-passage as the (official, political) goal and value of "all-Russianness" (*Èto byl poèt obščerusskij, poèt naroda ne malorusskogo a voobšče russkogo naroda...*). That this is not a rhetorical flourish nor a casual aside is made clear somewhat further in the essay when Kostomarov returns to this idea and provides an extensive elaboration. "We have said," he reminds us,

> that being a Ukrainian poet in form and language, Ševčenko was at the same time an all-Russian poet. This is precisely because he is the articulator of national song [*narodnyx dum*], the representative of national will [*narodnoj voli*], the exegete of national feeling [*narodnogo čuvstva*].[55]

The *narod*, and the manner in which the poet articulates, represents and illuminates its essence (*narodnost'*) is, as we shall see directly, the central and certainly the most influential and long-lived paradigm in Kostomarov's reception of Ševčenko. And it is precisely the transcendence of the *narod*, its ontological superiority, so to say, to the very process of history that allows Kostomarov to so elide the question of identity.[56] The way in which this is effected, however, the contextualization of the poet's role in society and history, is also highly instructive. In the passage that follows, Kostomarov provides a remarkable gamut of motifs which meld insight and personal conviction, or indeed bias, and tread, as Hrushevs'kyj pointed out, a thin line between official (and rather pragmatic) patriotism and barely concealed anti-bureaucratic, anti-centralist, and basically oppositionist populism.[57] The central thesis regarding the interrelation between the Ukrainian and the Russian peoples is one that Kostomarov was then working on with particular intensity: a month earlier he had published in *Osnova* a major article on "Dve russkie narodnosti," in which the national, and historically conditioned,

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55. Ibid., p. 91.

56. The prioritizaion of ethnography over history is characteristic not only of Kostomarov; cf. below.

57. Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, "Z publicystyčnyx pysan' Kostomarova," introduction to *Naukovo-publicystyčni i polemični praci.* pp. [iii]–iv.

character of each of the "Russian" (i.e., Rusian) nations/peoples (*narody*) is anatomized, and their essentially complementary profiles are presented as historical inevitability, as fate.[58] Here the motif, and the essence of the argument, is reiterated—succinctly and more eloquently:

Fate has united the Ukrainian and the Great Russian peoples with unbreakable bonds. Only a casual [*legkomyslennoe*] skating along the surface of political events would lead one to conclude that there is only a state connection between these two peoples, and look at Ukraine as nothing more than a country annexed to the Russian Empire; although, on the other hand, only forceful centralization which kills every human freedom and every form of spiritual development of a thinking being can, with shut eyes, claim the total selfsameness of the Russian people. An understanding that is based on studying Russian history and ethnography will always admit that the Russian nation [*russkij narod*] should be understood in the sense of two nationalities; between these nationalities lies a deep, unbreakable, spiritual bond of kinship which will never allow them to question their political and social unity—that bond which was not destroyed under the weight of historical circumstances that sought forcefully to sunder these nationalities, that bond which was not torn either by internal strife, or by the Tatars, or Lithuania, or the Poles, that bond which to this day inclines Galicia, which several centuries ago had strayed into another sphere, toward the Russian horizon. Neither the Great Russians without the Ukrainians, nor the latter without the former, can complete their development. The one people is indispensable for the other; the one nationality complements the other; and the more orderly, equitable, reciprocal is the complementary nature of this relationship, the more normal will be Russian life.

And this becomes the large purpose of Ševčenko's historical role:

Ševčenko, as a poet of the people [*poèt narodnyj*], felt this and understood it, and therefore his ideas and his feelings were never, not even in the most difficult moments of his life, besmirched either by hostility towards the Great Russian nationality or by quixotic dreams of local political independence: not the smallest shadow of anything like this could be found in his poetic works. And this, among other things, reaffirms the high virtue of his talent...[59]

The ultimate proof for this rests in the *narod*, in Ševčenko's multiform openness to it, and specifically in the fact—as Kostomarov sees it—that his poetry is perfectly intelligible to, and is appreciated by, the Great Russians.[60]

58. Cf. N. I. Kostomarov, *Dve russkie narodnosti* (Kyiv, 1991).

59. "Vospominanija o dvux maljarax," p. 91.

60. "Поэт истинно народный, он естественно должен был выражать то, что, будучи достоянием малорусского элемента, имело в то же время и общерусское значение. Оттого поэзия Шевченка понятна и родственна Великоруссам. Для того, чтоб сочувствовать ему и уразуметь его достоинство, не нужно быть исключительно Малоруссом, не нужно даже глубоко в подробностях изучить малорусскую этнографию... Шевченкову поэзию поймет и оценит всякий, кто только близок вообще

Kostomarov's conception of Ševčenko's "national" (political) role, his "all-Russian" resonance, draws on several motifs—and contains an essential circularity. Historically, as Hrushevsky notes, it articulates the then current Ukrainian stance of dual loyalty and faith in federalism, of rejecting any claim to political separatism while appealing for equality and legitimacy on the historical *and* ethnographic level: "Ukrainian patriotism [at that time] does not contradict all-Russian state nationalism."[61] As pragmatic as it may have been, it reflected the consensus of patriotic thought, and to see it as a hedging on one's Ukrainianness would be quite ahistorical.[62]

At the same time, this conception articulates a deeply held and genuinely non-pragmatic belief in the priority of the ethnographic over the historical, in effect, the primacy of the *narod* with respect to any and all cultural institutions. Now the historical experience that shaped the cultural, and consequently also the ethnic separateness of the Ukrainian *vis à vis* the Russian (Great Russian) people was the centuries-long existence of the former within the political and cultural structures of first the Lithuanian state and then the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The whole thrust of Kostomarov's writings, however, beginning with his *Bogdan Xmel'nickij* and extending to numerous shorter and polemical works, and echoing the theses of official Russian historiography, is to cast this experience as largely a Babylonian captivity, an aberration, or simply a detour from the broad track of the "all-Russian" unity that existed in the Kyivan period and has now been

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к народу,—кто способен помимать народные требования и способ народного выражения." Ibid.

Or, again: "В сочинениях его так много общерусского, что Великоруссы читают его даже в чрезвычайно плохих стихотворных переводах: как ни искажали его переводчики все-таки не могли испортить до того, чтоб первородная поэзия не высказывалась наружу. По нашему мнению, переводить Шевченка отнюдь не следует: достаточно будет напечатать его с объяснениями слов, непонятных для Великорусса,—да и слов такух будет совсем не много." Ibid., p. 92.

61. "This," he goes on to say, "was the task of Ukrainian tactics of the 1860s." As for Kostomarov, he "never ceased asserting and proclaiming that for the Ukrainian people their attachment to their way of life and their language did not prevent full loyalty towards the Russian state and the Great Russian people, and the Ukrainian intelligentsia, with Kostomarov at their head, while adhering to Ukrainian culture, and developing it as best they can, sees itself nonetheless as "Russian" [rus'koju], state-patriotic, and so on. The article ["Knjaz' Vladimir Monomax i kazak Bogdan Xmel'nickij," in which this is first argued] found sympathetic resonance in Ukrainian circles and Drahomanov strongly urges his Galician correspondents to study it so that they understand this dual nationalism of contemporary Ukrainians—one of whom at that time was Drahomanov himself." Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, "Z publicystyčnyx pysan' Kostomarova," Introduction to *Naukovo-publicystyčni i polemični pysannja Kostomarova*, p. xvi.

62. In its own right it also echoes historical attitudes, i.e., the dual loyalty of the Cossack elite (*staršyna*) of the 18th century; cf., e.g., Semen Divovyč's "Razhovor Velikorossii z Malorossijeju."

reestablished in post-Petrine imperial Russia. Kostomarov's stance, however, goes beyond the official statist historiography of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in that his focus, in self-avowed opposition to the Karamzinist tradition, is not on the state, but on the *narod*. And this provides a two-fold, augmented reason for seeing a basic similarity in the two "Rusian" peoples: the objectively existing ethnographic and linguistic similarities and contiguities between them, on the one hand, and, on the other, the devaluation or simply the bracketing out of the state, here the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and its role in shaping the historically, structurally conditioned distinctness, indeed separateness, of Ukrainian culture.[63] This also, however, establishes an essential circularity—in order for the Ukrainian *narod* to be close to the Great Russian it must be seen in ethnographic terms, and in large measure its historical experience (not to say its elites) must be edited out of the picture. For all the explicit claims of equality between Great and Little Russia, the price of "all-Russianness" is dear—it is the role of the "younger brother," and with it the path for eventually seeing Ukrainian literature as a literature for "home use" is already marked out.

Ultimately, the mesmerizing hold of the *narod*, and the search for an overarching all-Russianness in Kostomarov's writings, should perhaps be sought in his roots and in the innermost layers (and traumas) of his psyche: in the fact that his father was a Great Russian nobleman and his mother a Ukrainian peasant, indeed his father's serf, whom he married three months after Nikolaj was born; in the fact that while she was thus freed from serfdom he was not; in the fact that when Nikolaj was ten, and attending a pension in Moscow, his father (whom Kostomarov later described in his *Autobiography* as guided by a "liberalism and democratism" commingled with a "*pradedovsk[oe] barstvo*") was murdered by his serfs, for motives, as the sources say, of both revenge and robbery; in the telling circumstance that his mother, after long negotiations, had to cede the bulk of her widow's estate to his two uncles in order to buy Nikolaj out of serfdom. Or, as he later describes it, in his intellectual discovery that the true fabric of history was to be found not in the chronicles and documents, but in the pulsing life of the masses—which pulsation, quintessentially the oral literature, came totally to captivate him.[64]

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63. In principle, of course, this must also be applied to Muscovy—for the question of distinctness/separateness is determined by the actions, cultural policies, and so on of the states on both sides of the border.

64. Thus in his *Autobiography*: "Скоро я пришел к убеждению, что историю нужно изучать не только по мертвым летописям и запискам, а и в живом народе. Не может быть чтобы века прошедшей жизни не отпечатались в жизни и воспоминаниях потомков: нужно только приняться поискать–и, верно, найдетсь многое, что до сих пор

Whatever the intellectual and emotional origins of Kostomarov's paradigm, and desideratum, of "all-Russianness," its application to Ševčenko is more false than true. The question of the accessibility and intelligibility of his poetry for the Great Russian reader is the least of the problems. For one thing, it is clear that to claim this is to skate (to use Kostomarov's own image) along the lexical-semantic and socio-thematic surface of the poetry and hardly confront its profound cultural and symbolic and indeed historical resonance. How can one assume that the Cossack past, the *dumy*, the gamut of Ukrainian folkloric motifs, and indeed the reliance on the stylistic devices of the nascent Ukrainian literature, particularly the legacy of Kotljarevs'kyj, and above all a syncretic and mythical sense of Ukrainian victimization, can be intelligible to those who are not attuned to this code? (And the existence of the code is rooted not only in language—which is, of course, a given that immediately establishes limits to accessibility outside of itself—but even more in the fact that the formal medium, the literature, is then still largely undifferentiated and still highly dependent on its implicit generating principles and values of intimacy, familiarity and privity; in fact, it is precisely at that formative stage of language- and literature- and self-assertion where it is most hermetic and most resistant to extrapolation into other codes or contexts. Thus, too, intertextuality, specifically with reference to the context that is beyond or outside the ethnic realm, is highly circumscribed at this stage of Ukrainian literature.) In fact, already in Kostomarov's time, the story of Ševčenko's reception—which for our purpose here must be strictly defined as the considered response to his poetry, and not, for example, the general and all but openly "dissident" adulation that was showered upon him in St. Petersburg after his return from exile—illustrates the difference between his Ukrainian and his Russian readers. For even if one excludes from among the latter those like Belinskij and Senkovskij who were unabashedly hostile,[65] the response from those who were supportive—which includes

упущено наукою. Но с чего начать? Конечно, с изучения своего русского народа; а как я жил тогда в Малороссии, то и начать с его малорусской ветви. Эта мысль обратила меня к чтению народных памятников. Первый раз в жизни добыл я малорусские песни издания Максимовича 1827 года, великорусские песни Сахарова и принялся читать их. Меня поразила и увлекла неподдельная прелесть малорусской народной поэзии; я никак не подозревал, чтобы такое изящество, такая глубина и свежость чувства была в произведениях народа, столько близкого ко мне и о котором я, как увидел, ничего не знал. Малорусские песни до того охватили все мое чувство и воображение, что в какой-нибудь месяц я уже знал наизусть сборник Максимовича, потом принялся за другой сборник его же, познакомился з историческими думами и еще более пристрастился к поэзии этого народа." Pp. 446–47. The same is asserted by Kuliš in his "Vospominanije o Nikolaje Ivanoviče Kostomarove," *Nov'*, 1885, vol. 4, no. 13, p. 63.

65. Cf. Victor Svoboda's "Shevchenko and Belinsky," in *Shevchenko and the Critics 1861–1980*, ed. George S. N. Luckyj (Toronto, 1980), pp. 303–323.

such disparate people as Turgenev, whose well-intentioned, but ultimately rather limited memoirs served as an introduction to one volume of the Prague edition of Ševčenko's poetry, or Černyševkij, or Dobroljubov, or Princess Barbara Repnina, who continued to hold a special affection for Ševčenko—also shows that for them, large, indeed defining aspects of his poetry and his thought remained invisible.

The real problem, however, is simply whether the idea of all-Russianness can be reconciled with the meaning, particularly the overarching symbolic meaning, of Ševčenko's poetry, *and* the new social and political, in a word *national* reality that that poetry started to generate from the moment it appeared and, as Kostomarov was one of the first to see, began to irrevocably reshape its readers. Much depends, of course, on the meaning Kostomarov places on "all-Russian." On the level that he himself stresses first—the absence of hostility or rancor towards the Great Russians—his claim is surely true, though with some qualifications. In Ševčenko's prose, in his Diary, his letters and the cumulative evidence of his everyday life, enmity towards other groups, specifically the Great Russians among whom he counts so many friends and benefactors, beginning with Žukovskij and Brjulov, is simply not a factor. His poetry is also remarkably free of ethnic or group bias, but at the same time it is deeply informed by collective representations and animated by a profound sense of collective victimization. It is within this frame that what might seem a hypersensitivity to what is native and what is foreign asserts itself; and it is in this key that he merges his voice with the *kobzar* (minstrel) and enjoins the seduced and abandoned village girls to make love, but not with Russian soldiers:

Кохайтеся чорнобриві,
Та не з москалями...

("Kateryna," ll. 1–2)[66]

A rather different angle on this aspect of Ševčenko (and on the relationship between him and Kostomarov) is provided by the ever acerbic and unpredictable Kuliš. After describing how Ševčenko (in 1846) charmed his fresh acquaintance, the learned Kostomarov, and his doting mother, and their servant Thomka with his irrepressible humor, and song, and readiness to

66. The term *moskal'*, as has so often been pointed out, referred in Ševčenko's time to both "soldier" and "[Great] Russian." Ševčenko at times (e.g, in "Moskaleva krynycja" [The Soldier's Well]) uses it explicitly in the former sense; in one exile poem, "Xiba samomu napysat'..." , he in fact speaks of himself as a *moskal'*: "Та, мабуть, в яму перейду/ Із москалів, а не діждусь! ... In "Kateryna" and the broad context of victimization the *moskal'* is unequivocally the Russian. Ultimately, of course, the two are coterminous: to be made a soldier, a *moskal'*, is to be made alien.

imbibe, and after "thus leaving the last Ukrainian minstrel on Kostomarov's hands in Kiev and departing for the St. Petersburg that seemed so mysterious and attractive for a provincial," Kuliš notes:

> ... I must hasten to add that under those external clothes that Taras loved to show off before the people he wore a different set—of a black color. Like Byron, our Ukrainian *kobzar* was at times a "grim martyr" who
>
> Suffered, loved and cursed.
>
> From this side, his language acted upon both of us as a disease [*kak zaraza*]. In our youthful heart, blissful and peaceful under the influence of all-Russian learning and poetry, a wound was made by the unknown authors of those paradoxes that fill Konys'kyj's chronicle, the outstanding *History of the Russes* [*Istoriija Rusov*]. Ševčenko, brought up on his reading of the pseudo-Konys'kyj exacerbated this wound, and we became haters not only of those who, in our childish views, were guilty of the miserable state of our native Ukraine, but of the Great Russians themselves [*samyx moskalej*], a coarse people, who in our opinion at the time, were incapable of anything elevated and whom we called *kacapy*. Ševčenko was inexhaustible in his sarcasm, anecdotes and sayings regarding the poor Great Russians whom we so severely deprived of a legacy in the *votčina* of the Rurikovids and the Romanovs. In much he must certainly have given way to Kostomarov, but Kostomarov, too, could not be free of his influence. In his recollection of Ševčenko he speaks evasively that he purportedly did not know him very well. I have the basis to think that in my absence they became as close as could be expected of two people who were so generously endowed by nature, who were so young, and who lived under the circumstances of the just but severe reign of Nikolaj Pavlovič.[67]

Kuliš's reminiscence—for all its levels of irony, his sarcastic variations on the theme of his, and Kostomarov's, and Ševčenko's, youthful (indeed, as he says, "childish") naiveté, his (altogether characteristic) melding of an encomium to and a debunking of Kostomarov (in what is, after all, an obituary), his all but unseemly dismissal of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius (also as "childish"), and his overall tone of somehow ambiguous loyalty—still has the ring of truth, perhaps precisely because different motifs and feelings clash in dissonance rather than rising in some orchestrated harmony. Thus, in contrast to the tone of tolerant condescension and patience, there is a certain dissonance in the phrase "in my absence"—with its implication of being somehow left out, of being supplanted in the relationship of true friendship with "the last Ukrainian minstrel." Such, too, is the apparent *volte-face* in his discussion of Pletnev. As Kuliš describes it,

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67. P. Kuliš, "Vospominanija o Nikolaje Ivanoviče Kostomarove," pp. 64–65. The quote is from Puškin's "Kto znaet kraj, gde nebo bleščet." I am grateful to Professor William Mills Todd III for bringing this to my attention.

he abandons under Pletnev's magisterial influence the utopian political ideas that he had been sharing with Kostomarov, and retreats into an "ethnographic patriotism." But it is also on this very ground that he refuses to accommodate his mentor's goal of "Russian cosmopolitanism" and proceeds not only to assert his unprestigious "local" patriotism, but to redefine "Russianness" as something altogether incomplete without the Ukrainian component.[68]

If Kuliš's version of Ševčenko's attitudes is true, however, what light does it shed on Kostomarov's construction of Ševčenko's all-Russianness, and particularly his claim that with regard to the Great Russians the poet never evinced even a shadow of hostility? The simplest answer—adumbrated by what we have already seen of Kostomarov's tendency to reconfigure the past—is that it is questionable, perhaps even false. A more qualified response would distinguish here at least two levels of response or discourse. The one to which Kostomarov is implicitly attuned is the ethical or moral level, and his judgment is true: Ševčenko not only was not bigoted, but his creativity, above all his poetry, moves toward an ever more assertive universalism.[69] But there is also a contingent, non-idealistic, emotional and concretely human level to which Kostomarov, who shrinks from spontaneity and "eccentricity" and who even doubts (or evades, as Kuliš charges) his own friendship with Ševčenko, is not attuned. He does not see it, or if he does he glosses it over in order to further his larger scheme, to frame his idea. For his part, Ševčenko, whose sensitivity to injustice is exceeded only by an honesty that seems to shrink from nothing, and particularly not his emotions, cannot but express his feelings—especially if it is impolitic to do so. In a word, as much as he is part of all-Russian society, as close as he is to a great number of

68. "Из безбрежно широкой области политики я, не смущая моего почтенного друга никакими признаниями, мало-по-малу вошел в узкую сравнительно область этнографического патриотизма: я сделался киевским русичем, не исключавшим уже из общого наследства прочих русичей—клязьменских, московских, новгородских и проч. В этом областном патриотизме я был вполне откровенен с Петром Александровичем; иногда своими парадоксами выводил его даже из терпения. Он смотрел на мое украинствование, как на один из моих недостатков, пожалуй—как на главный из них, и, без сомнения клонил свое влияние на меня к тому, чтобы я сделался русским космополитом. Но тут он встретил во мне украинскую молчаливую оппозицию, чему доказательством служит между прочим "Черная рада", которую в Киеве начал я писать на языке Пушкина, а в Петербурге написал на языке Шевченка.

... Что касается Плетнева, то полному нашему сближению мешала только моя малорусская национальность. За его незнание малорусского языка, я смотрел на него как на человека, не получившаго *вполне русского* литературного образования. За мое пристрастие к украинщине, он смотрел на меня как на полуурода. Посылая в его библиотеку мои украинские сочинения впоследствии, я надписывал, что настанет просвещенное время, когда потомок Плетнева этими книгами воспользуется для истории русской народности" (emphasis in the original). Ibid., pp. 65–66.

69. Cf. my *The Poet as Mythmaker: A Study of Symbolic Meaning in Taras Ševčenko* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), especially chapter 4, "The Millennarian Vision."

Great Russian friends, as free as his poetry is of ethnic animosity, the sarcasm, the anecdotes, the sayings that Kuliš speaks of and which cumulatively articulate a rebellion against, or a subversion of the canonic role of the "older brother," are entirely in character.[70]

Kostomarov's general claim is more plausible if it is taken not in the sense of a mutual Russian/Ukrainian linguistic and cultural intelligibility, and not as an articulation of fraternal affection (this metaphor, with its odious foreshadowing of much later Soviet dogmas, should not really be laid at his door), but as historical, social, and intellectual common space. A sense of Russia as something that contains (not to say dominates or "owns") Ukraine is ever-present in Ševčenko's prose, his Diary, his letters, and so on;[71] in and of itself it is nothing more than a basic reality principle, and as such (somewhat tautologously) it is the defining feature of what I have called Ševčenko's "adjusted personality."[72] It is much less pronounced, but still in evidence in his poetry, most prominently as an ominous presence in his so-called political poems ("Son," "Poslanije" ["I Žyvym i mertvym i nenaroždennym"], and most directly perhaps in "Kavkaz"), or in such late poems as "Neofity" (where Imperial Rome seems to blend with Imperial Russia), "Jurodyvyj," and "Saul" (another meditation on the meaning and origins of "Tsars," in which an implied Russia ["*u nas*"], like China, Egypt, Babylon, or biblical Israel, is taken to exemplify universally repressive, self-aggrandizing, and essentially evil state power).

But the essential space and modality of Ševčenko's poetic world is not intellectual (i.e., historicist, or social, or political), but symbolic and mythical, and the question that must be put is: How does Kostomarov's paradigm of all-Russianness correlate with *this* poetic reality, which, after all, was then, and remains now the core of the significance and meaning of Ševčenko? The answer must surely be—hardly at all. Indeed, in light of the poetry, Kostomarov's basic political claim that Ševčenko's "ideas and his feelings were never, not even in the most difficult moments of his life, besmirched by... quixotic dreams of local political independence," appears as

70. Ševčenko's early letters are particularly interesting in this regard. On the one hand, he speaks of writing poetry in Russian to prove to the Russians that he can master their language ("Щоб на казали москалі, що я їх язика не знаю"; letter to H. S. Tarnovs'kyj, 25 January 1843); on the other hand, not infrequently, he complains of not hearing Ukrainian spoken, of missing "normal" (i.e., Ukrainian) speech, and, most tellingly, berates himself for trying to write in Russian: "...який мене чорт спіткав і за який гріх, що я оце сповідаюся кацапам, черствим кацапським словом"; letter to Ja. H. Kuxarenko, 30 September, 1842.

71. And this is augmented by (and contingent on) the fact that the prose, the *Diary* and a large portion of the letters are written in Russian. Cf. my "The Nexus of the Wake: Ševčenko's 'Trizna'," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3–4 (1979–80), pp. 320–47.

72. Cf. *Poet as Mythmaker*, pp. 8–9 and passim.

a serious distortion—or a remarkable blind spot. For even if we allow that the poet's thought, and the Ukraine that he conjures up, are defined by mythic, not historicist structures, that the state and indeed the whole political realm are basically rejected in favor of a millenarian vision, it is clear that in those structures and in that vision Ukraine is seen as fully separate and autonomous. In Ševčenko's poetry Ukraine is characterized precisely by the fact that in its *raison d'être* and mode of existence—symbolic, emotional, experiential—it is *conceived quite without Russia.* His focus, in short, is on Ukraine not as part of the Russian empire but as Ukraine *tout court.* Even in the benighted present where (as he sees more sharply than any of his compatriots, with the only possible exception of Gogol) it is only a somnolent and victimized province, it is still nothing less than a transcendent value, as he says in his "Epistle,"

Нема на світі України,
немає другого Дніпра...[73]

or, even more directly, in "Son" ("Hory moji vysokiji..."):

Я так її, я так люблю
Мою Україну убогу
Що проклену святого Бога
За неї душу погублю

In the concluding poem (No. 12) of the cycle "V kazemati," which begins Ševčenko's exile poetry (as noted above, the seventh poem of this cycle, "Vesele sonečko xovalos'," is dedicated to Kostomarov), Ukraine is both an object of prayer and a legacy:

Чи ми ще зійдемося знову?
Чи вже навіки розійшлись?
І слово правди і любові
В степи і дебрі рознесли!
Нехай і так. Не наша мати,
А довелося поважати.
То воля Господа. Годіть!
Смирітеся, молітесь Богу
І згадуйте один другого.
Свою Україну любіть.

73. The statement "nema na sviti Ukrajiny" is subtly ambiguous, for it can be taken as literal negation—"there is *no* Ukraine in the world out there"—or, anticipating the following line, can simply mean "there is *no other* Ukraine in the world." The oscillation between the two is semantically significant and subliminally disorienting. Cf. also the occultist reading that L. Pljušč gives this and similar passages in his *Eksod Ševčenka. Navkolo "Moskalevoji krynyci"* (Edmonton, Alberta, 1986), pp. 277–78 and passim.

Любіть її... Во время люте,
В остатню тяжкую минуту
За неї Господа моліть.

Such examples could be adduced at will, since this stance is essentially coterminous with the poetry: Ukraine, throughout, is a separate and uniquely privileged entity. And it is only stating the obvious to say that since she is above all an emotional and moral category—symbolizing, in the recent past and in the present, the status of victimization, and in the future universal human rebirth[74]—there is no common ground with Kostomarov's historical and political paradigm. In Ševčenko's poetic vision, Russia and all-Russianness simply do not determine Ukraine, and Kostomarov's, and his contemporaries', implicit belief that Ukraine is "inconceivable without Russia" stands revealed as an extrinsic, imperial mindset.

As one who was deeply moved by the power of Ševčenko's poetry (and, as Kuliš reminds us, knew so much of it by heart),[75] there is little doubt that Kostomarov was aware of this essential distinction, between (to put it most basically) a Ukraine "within" and a Ukraine "without" Russia. From all we know, he could not but know. How then should one read his classical misprision?

Its mechanics or rhetoric are fairly clear. Treading on the already slippery surface of an argument from absence, Kostomarov subtly identifies modality with logical conclusion: the fact that Ševčenko's poetry is simply directed beyond political considerations, that it does not have an immanent political articulation, serves as evidence that he does not support or value "quixotic dreams of local patriotism," in effect, political separatism. (This inference may well be furthered by Kostomarov implicitly "pooling" the evidence of the poetry with that of the prose—even though his subsequent judgements will show that he is eminently aware of their essentially different perspectives.) But even without the political articulation, and indeed precisely because the mythic code that stood in its place was so much more powerful and resonant, Ševčenko's message was as separatist, as non- or indeed anti-all-Russian as was humanly possible in his time and setting. It is couched in pre-political, millennarian-prophetic, and in some measure even in nativist terms, and it bypasses the various questions (of historical lineage and of equal

74. Cf., therefore, his quintessential millennarian statement:

І на оновленій землі
Врага не буде супостата
А буде син і буде мати
І будуть люде на землі. ("I Arximed i Halilej...")

75. "Костомарову не нужно было их [его киевские стихотворения] списывать: высоко оригинальные поэмы и кобзарские плачи Тараса он знал от слова до слова на память." "Vospominanija o Nikolaje Ivanoviče Kostomarove," p. 67.

right to the Rus′ legacy, of social underpinnings and institutions, and ultimately of federalism) that so occupied Kostomarov and Kuliš and later Drahomanov, but it constitutes a watershed: it cracks the hegemony of the all-Russian model in Ukrainian thought and in so doing prepares the ground for modern Ukrainian national consciousness. It must seem highly ironic that the premier Ukrainian historian, author of the text—the *Knyhy bytija ukrajins'koho narodu*—that forshadowed this break, was somehow impervious to this sea change in Ukrainian history. Kostomarov, the historian, was seemingly condemned to seeing only the past.

As his other responses will show, however, it was not so much a case of not seeing as of seeing and not wishing to see, of repressing the knowledge. To this, and especially the question of motivation, we shall return. The idea that enables him to thwart this insight is one that was destined to be the largest in his and his contemporaries' intellectual life, and one which—in historical perspective—offered up the most slippery surface of all: the *narod.*

3. ŠEVČENKO AND THE *NAROD*

Kostomarov's focus on the *narod* as *the* essential paradigm for conceptualizing Ukrainian (and Russian) history, and the nation's collective existence as such, dates from his earliest writings and resonates fully with the hegemony of this idea in the formative stage of modern Ukrainian national consciousness. Already in his "Obzor sočinenij, pisannyx na malorossijkom jazyke," published a full three years before he met Ševčenko, he speaks of the idea of the *narod* as nothing less than a prime cause: "When the idea of turning to the *narod (ideja narodnosti)* appeared in Europe, imitation gave way to originality and bookishness to talent...", or "Now the idea of turning to the *narod* has revitalized our literature: both the reading public and the writers consider a turning to the *narod* the main virtue of every belletristic work," or, finally,

> And so the idea of turning to the *narod*, which had animated Russian literature, brought forth within it a separate subset [*otdel*]—Ukrainian literature, which in its direction is purely Russian, and authentically ethnic [*svoenarodnaja*]. Many contemporary reviewers call this tendency to write in Ukrainian an incomprehensible whim, but their thinking is without basis, for this is a need of the times, since it stems from that source which vitalizes contemporary society.
>
> The Ukrainian vernacular language [*narodnyj jazyk*]—like every vernacular language prior to the appearance of the idea of turning to the *narod*—practically did not have until now any written works, but instead this language secretly contained rich treasures of poetry—folk songs and tales. For a long time no one

had any interest in this, and only recently have people turned their attention to them.[76]

When Kostomarov for his part turns his attention to Ševčenko in this, the first historical overview of modern Ukrainian literature, the key in which he reads him, and the very formulations he uses, are those he will return to again and again. At their core is the idea of a perfect consonance between the voice of the poet and that of the people:

> The works of Ševčenko, which have been published in a separate book under the title of *Kobzar*, show the author to be uniquely gifted. He is not only brought up on Ukrainian folk poetry, but he has fully mastered it, he has subordinated it to himself and he gives it an elegant, educated form. The features of the characters he presents—Kateryna, the minstrel-kobzar, Perebendja—are the same that we know from nature; but along with that they contain a universal poetry, understood by everyone. The feelings of the poet are characterized by weariness and despondency; he takes to heart the fate of the people, but his grief is not something that has been learned—this is the entire people *[celyj narod]* speaking with the lips of its poet.

These insights are remarkable in their power and accuracy, and, it is hardly surprising (and poetically just) that they came to be deeply imprinted on the entire Ševčenko reception: to this day they are *the* major leitmotif in the popular or official societal response, and a major presence in the traditional scholarship. But Kostomarov goes beyond this. His idea of the poet speaking with the voice of the people *(eto celyj narod govorjaščyj ustami svoego poèta)* actually anticipates much later thinking, specifically Ševčenko's essential reliance on the archetypal and the mythical:

> His soul has actualized an empathy and a likeness between his state and the feelings of the entire people; along with the movement of the heart, which belongs to the poet, there is a vital confluence which is common to everyone who is able to respond emotionally. Because of this everyone—as long as he has the minimum of those feelings which fill the inner world of a Ukrainian—will be transfixed by Ševčenko's poetry to such an extent that he will forget whether it is external to him, taken from outside, or entirely his own, something that has appeared in the realm of the heart, from time immemorial, like the first ideas of childhood.[77]

Some twenty years later, in his "Vospominanie o dvux maljarax," Kostomarov returns to his central thesis of the consonance between poet and people. He does so immediately after asserting (as we have already seen)

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76. Cf. Ieremija Halka, "Obzor sočinenij pisannyx na malorossijskom jazyke," *Molodyk na 1844 hod* (Xarkiv, 1843) and in M. I. Kostomarov, *Tvory v dvox tomax* (Kyiv, 1967), vol. 2, pp. 377–78.

77. Ibid., pp. 388–89.

Ševčenko's role as an "all-Russian" poet, as one who speaks to and for the primal, trans-historical and trans-political community that is formed by the "*dve russkie narodnosti*." And it is in this connection that he contrasts him with the poet who in the Russian society of the time was most often identified as a *narodnyj poèt*:

> Some myopic judges of literature have compared him [Ševčenko] with Kol'cov, and have even formed a higher opinion of the latter. This came as a result of the fact that they did not understand what is a poet of the people [*narodnyj poet*], and could not raise themselves to an understanding of his qualities and significance. According to their concept, the poet of the people is the one who can successfully depict the *narod* and speak in its tonality. And such indeed was Kol'cov; in some of his works he performed this task excellently, and his name shines honorably among the outstanding figures of Russian literature. Ševčenko was not such a poet and such was not his task. Ševčenko did not imitate folk songs; Ševčenko did not have as his goal either to describe his people or to copy the folk tone: he had nothing to copy, since by his very nature he did not speak in any other way. As a poet Ševčenko was the *narod* itself continuing its poetic creativity. Ševčenko's song was by itself a song of the people, but a new one, the kind of song that could now be sung by the entire people... Ševčenko was chosen by the people in the direct sense of the word; it is as if the *narod* chose him to sing in its place. The forms of folk song entered Ševčenko's verse not through learning, not by deliberation—where to use what, where this or that expression is best put—but by the natural development in his soul of the whole limitless thread of folk poetry... Ševčenko said what every man from the people would say if his folk essence [*narodnoe suščestvo*] could rise to the task of expressing that which is at the bottom of his soul. A holy treasure, it was hidden there under the weight of life's prose, and was invisible, unnoticed even by the common man himself until the moment that the life-creating sounds of a genius would touch the soul's concealed mysteries and with their entrancing melody jolt the muteness of his thought, and reveal to his senses that which was his property, but of which he was still unaware. Waked from his prosaic apathy by the voice of such poetry the common man is ready to cry out with trembling and delight: "I was just now ready to say the same thing, precisely the way it was said by the poet." This was not granted either to Kol'cov or to any other Russian poet, with the only exception of Puškin (though he spoke not for the common man, but for the higher Russian class). Kol'cov would speak in the tone of the people; Ševčenko speaks in the way the *narod* does not yet speak, but how it was already prepared to speak, and was only waiting for a singer to be found within its ranks who would master its language and its tone. And following such a creator so also will speak the whole *narod*, and it will say in one voice: this is mine...[78]

The poetic eloquence that so moved his audience on that commemorative evening in 1861 is still audible in these lines, and its source is the author's

78. "Vospominanie o dvux maljarax," *Naukovo-publicystyčni i polemični pysannja Kostomarova*, pp. 89–90.

unmistakable and unalloyed empathy for his subject—both the poet and the *narod* with which he so firmly identifies him. In terms of the argument itself, the intellectual, logical means for linking the seemingly totally disparate realms of the collective and the individual is the notion of Genius, which, as we shall see directly, is one of the poles and touchstones of this essay. A further animating moment, conjoining the intellectual and the emotional, is Kostomarov's sense of the impending demise of Ukrainian folk culture (which for him, we should remember, is coterminous with Ukrainian culture as such). "Народная украинская поэзия видимо приблизается к угасанию," he says and goes on to project this onto a broad gamut, of performance and repertoire, quality and content, and of the pure and archaic folk consciousness itself. Ultimately, of course, the death of Ševčenko is a synecdoche for the passing of a whole way of life.[79]

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79. This idea was also voiced, virtually at the same time, by Apollon Grigor'ev in his obituary, "Taras Ševčenko," published in *Vremja* (1861, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 634–40). His seemingly boundless estimation of Ševčenko, whom he brackets along with Puškin and Mickiewicz, is still qualified, however, by what Grigor'ev takes to be Ševčenko's wholly *local* (i.e., Ukrainian) resonance as well as by his exclusive identification with the *národ*:

Значение утраты, которую славянские литературы понесли в Тарасе Григорьевиче Шевченке–если не равносильно з утратами, понесенными ими в Пушкине и Мицкевиче–представителях славянства перед целым человечеством,—то во всяком случае нисколько не меньше значения утраты Гоголя и Кольцова.*

(And here Grigor'ev provides his footnote: Так-как у нас во всем и всегда нужно огавариваться, то и спешим сказать, что равносильность этой утраты мы признаем только относительно малороссийской литературы, в которой Тарас Шевченко занимал огромное место.) And then he continues,

Что Тарас Шевченко был великий поэт, в этом сомневаться может только газета "Век"—на столь же *разумных* основаниях, на каких не сочуствует она Шиллеру. Но что с другой стороны Тарас Шевченко был только заря, великий поэт только что начинающейся литературы поэт исключительно народный, поэт о котором трудно сказать—последний ли это из слепых кобзарей или первый из мастеров и художников, так наивна его красота и вместе так уже артистична,—это тоже не подлежит спору. По красоте и силе, многие поставляли его наравне с Пушкиным и Мицкевичем: мы готовы идти даже дальше в этом—у Тараса Шевченки есть та нагая красота выражения народной поэзии, которая на каждой странице "Кобзаря" поразит вас у Шевченки... Шевченко еще ничего условного не боится; нужны ему младенческий лепет, народный юмор, страстное воркованье, он ни перед чем не остановится, и все это у него выйдет свежо, наивно, могуче, страстно или жартливо как самое дело. У него действительно есть и уносящая, часто необузданная страстность Мицкевича, есть и прелесть пушкинской ясности—так что действительно, по данным, по силам своего великого таланта, он стоит как бы в середине между двумя великими представителями славянского духа. Натура его поэтическая шире своею многосторонностью натуры нашего могучего, но одностороннего как сама его родина—представителя русской Украины, Кольцова, светлее, проще и искренее натуры Гоголя, великого поэта Малороссии, поставившего себя в ложное положение быть поэтом совершено чуждого ему великорусского быта... Да! Шевченко—последний кобзарь и первый великий поэт новой великой литературы славянского мира.

Apollon Grigor'ev, *Sočinenija, I. Kritika* (Villanova, 1970), pp. 386–87.

For all the formal and psychological insights of this reading and with all due allowance for its emotional tone and elegiac mode, the interpretation of Ševčenko that emerges is still highly problematic. The first and basic reason is that the notion of the *narod* was and is profoundly ambiguous. On the one hand it refers to the total collective, "the people," indeed "the nation," and draws its cognitive and emotional power from this totalizing thrust. On the other hand—and this reflects convention, history and social reality—it refers to the "folk," "the common people," specifically the peasantry. Kostomarov, for whom the *narod* is *the* essential concept, the touchstone of his thought, also exemplifies the intermingling and frequent fusion of these two levels. In one passage, sometimes in one sentence, he will use it to refer to the peasant, the "*prostoljudin*," and to the "Ukrainian" or "Russian people," or indeed the totality of Rus'.[80] The problems that flow from this are several.

The fusion of the idea of the "folk" with that of the "nation" sharply narrows down, or even brackets out history; Kostomarov, the historian, finds himself in the odd position of suspecting, and suspending—by virtue of his populist paradigm—much of the content of what in his time is considered history, i.e., political history. The totalizing power of the idea of the *narod* necessarily leads to the further premise of its undifferentiated, "class-less," and ultimately "democratic" essence. This legacy of Romanticism, and particularly Herder, becomes the warp of Kostomarov's writings and in turn the enduring legacy of Ukrainian *narodnyctvo* or populism.

When applied to Ševčenko (and the *narod* and Ševčenko's *narodnist'* become central topoi in the subsequent reception), this paradigm cannot but obscure the overall historical, social and indeed political impact of his message. As much as Kostomarov is intuitively correct in stressing the "collective unconscious," in effect the mythical, transhistorical tenor of his poetry, Ševčenko's inclusion in his vision (albeit in the guise of the new secular religion of Romanticism and its cult of the *narod*) of the autonomist and corporate patriotism of the Cossack elite of the past century, and even more so his ability to identify and speak to precisely the different strata of

The issue of Ševčenko's *narodnist'*, and his total identification with it, had been put as forcefully, and at greater length, only a few months earlier in N. Dobroljubov's review of the *Kobzar* of 1860 (*Sovremennik*, 1860, vol. 80, no. 3, pp. 99–109). The possibility that this perception of Ševčenko, and of all of Ukrainian literature, may have been not only a gross simplification, but also a strategic subordination to the authority of the all-Russian discourse, in effect a marginalization vis à vis the center, is something that could not be raised either in Stalinist or in post-Stalinist Soviet criticism. For an earlier treatment of this cf. M. Plevako's "Ševčenko j krytyka (Evoljucija pohljadiv na Ševčenka)," *Červonyj šljax*, 1924, no. 3, pp. 97–120 and nos. 4–5, pp. 108–142; reprinted in *Statti, rozvidky j bio-bibliohrafični materijaly* (New York-Paris, 1961), pp. 164–268, especially pp. 176–78 and passim.

80. Cf. n. 52 above.

Ukrainian society, and, most importantly, his ability to visualize a historical and, for all practical terms, national continuum of "the dead, the living and the yet unborn," remain something Kostomarov-the-historian cannot see. In fact, his inability to discern this turns into a principle, an unwillingness to countenance a new paradigm, and ultimately to accept a new historical reality. Its culmination is the theory of a "literature for home use" and the rather unseemly pose of chiding his colleague and erstwhile friend, Kuliš, for translating Shakespeare into Ukrainian—where it is plain to him (Kostomarov) that what the implied (in effect, peasant) reader of Ukrainian requires is simpler and more practical fare.[81]

The identification of Ševčenko as a poet of the *narod*, or a *narodnyj poèt*, also has the unavoidable consequence of downgrading his social and esthetic role. The comparison with Kol'cov, and then with Puškin, is indicative: while Ševčenko is judged superior to Kol'cov as a *narodnyj poèt*, he speaks to the common masses, while Puškin speaks to the upper classes. In a later article Kostomarov puts it much more directly:

> ...for Ševčenko there will always be a place in the pleiad of the great singers of the Slavic world. In artistic devices he gives way to such poets of our tribe as Puškin and Mickiewicz, as he indeed generally gave way to them in education—although this lack was strongly compensated by the strength of his creative genius. But in the vitality of his ideas, in the nobility and universality of his feelings, in his naturalness and simplicity, Ševčenko is superior to them. His significance in history is not in literature, not in society, but in the whole mass of the *narod*.[82]

This juxtaposition, or more precisely the terms in which it is made, points to the second major problem in the paradigm of the *narod*: how is individuality possible if it is literally the whole people (be it folk or nation) that is speaking through the poet's voice? Or, specifically, how can we discern the *poèt* in Kostomarov's Ševčenko? By all indications—only in dim

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81. Thus: "Нам казалось-бы, нет надобности переводить на южно-русское наречие Шекспира, так как всякий малорусс, получивший на столько развития, чтобы интересоваться чтением Шекспира, может прочитать его в русском переводе, да иногда даже с большим удобством, чем в южно-русском, потому что редкий сколько-нибудь образованый малорусс не знает русскаго книжнаго языка в равной степени с своим природным наречием, передавать-же по-русски Шекспира в настоящее время легче чем по-малорусски, даже и такому знатоку малорусскаго слова, как сам г. Кулиш." (Kostomarov goes on to say, however, that this does not apply to the Ukrainians living in Austria-Hungary: since both Polish and German are "foreign" languages, the need to make Ukrainian into a full-blown literary language ["...развивать родное наречие и преобразовать его в культурный язык"] is evident and justified.) "P. A. Kuliš i ego poslednjaja literaturnaja dejatel'nost'," *Kievskaja starina* 5, 1883, p. 223–24.

82. N. Kostomarov, "Malorusskaja literatura," *Poèzija slavjan*, p. 161. While sharing some basic assumptions with Grigor'ev (cf. n. 79, above), Kostomarov's formulation is still more analytical and more perspicacious.

outline. While seeing the creative role of Ševčenko's *narodnist'*, his reliance on the folk idiom and the vernacular language, the gamut of emotional and expressive devices associated with the folkloric or oral modality, and most strikingly his resonance with the collective unconscious, Kostomarov simply does not see Ševčenko's manifest and complex individuality, his doubt and his irony, his experimentation with form and his subtle use of voice, his modulation of emotion and his variations on intellectual distancing. It would appear that even while Kostomarov is the first to speak of Ševčenko's genius—and all of the above would normally inhere in the idea of poetic genius—in actual fact, both the idea itself and its content are overshadowed by his supreme and ultimate reference point, the *narod*.

Despite this seeming reductiveness, it must be noted in Kostomarov's defense that the meaning that he ascribes to the *narod* appears at times to be nothing short of sublime: it is the essence of common humanity, the core of human values, virtually a religious or metaphysical category. This tendency to expand the meaning of the *narod* from a simple designation of the peasant masses to a vision of common humanity is most pronounced in Kostomarov's last extensive treatment of Ševčenko, his already mentioned introduction to the section on Ukrainian literature in N. V. Gerbel's anthology, *The Poetry of the Slavs*. Here he again stresses that Ševčenko, in contrast to the other writers creating the new Ukrainian literature, was a man literally of the common people, a "*prostoljudin*,"[83] and he repeats virtually word for word his earlier formulation that "Ševčenko's poetry is the poetry of the entire *narod*," it is "that which the *narod* only felt in its sorrow, but could not yet clothe in clear consciousness," that "which the *narod* truly sang with the lips of its chosen one..."[84] But then he goes a step further:

> A poet like Ševčenko is not only a painter of the people's life [*narodnogo byta*], not only a singer of the people's feelings [*narodnogo čuvstva*], of the people's deeds—he is a national leader [*narodnyj vožd'*], one who awakens them to new life, a prophet.[85]

And from this he takes a still further step: "His poetry," he says, "is deeply Ukrainian, but at the same time its meaning is in no sense merely local: it continually carries a universal significance." Thus,

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83. Thus: "Народность Квитки, как и вообще тогдашних народо-изобразителей—это зеркало наведенное на народный быт... Но Шевченко был сам простолюдин, тогда-как другие более или менее были паны и паничи, любовавшиеся народом, иногда и дествительно и любившие его, но в сущности, по рождению, воспитанию и стремлениям житейским, не состовлявшие с народом одного целаго." "Maloruskaja literatura," *Poezija slavjan*, p. 160.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.

Ševčenko is not only a poet of the Ukrainian common people, but generally the poet of the common people [*poèt prostogo naroda*], of the common humanity [*ljudskoj gromady*] that had long been suppressed by the conditions of social existence, but still senses the need for other conditions, and is already beginning to move in that direction, though it does not yet see a true path and often falls into despair and despondency even when hope for a distant future looks into their soul.[86]

Separately and cumulatively, the prescience of these formulations is stunning. "National leader," "prophet," "poet of common humanity" are terms which accurately reflect the *contemporary* understanding of Ševčenko: the former two virtually defining the conceptual (in effect, rhetorical) axis of the popular, cultic and "patriotic" responses, and the latter serving as a touchstone for a broad range of approaches, from the ideological to the analytical.[87] The present discourse on Ševčenko, whatever its level of sophistication, is simply inconceivable without recourse to these terms. In laying the groundwork for this edifice, the sublime meaning with which Kostomarov invests the notion of the *narod* also defines the quality that enables and, intellectually speaking, legitimizes the whole subsequent reception of Ševčenko—the idea of his universality. In earlier readings, in Kuliš's graveside oration, in Kostomarov's own early responses which we have already discussed, the frame for considering the poet's impact was Slavdom or "all-Russianness"; now it is something much more compelling: "common humanity."[88]

86. Ibid. The awkward syntax, the array of subordinate clauses, seems to reflect the author's slippery task of giving voice to social disaffection without crossing over into political dissent.

87. In the latter I would also include my own reading. "Poet of common humanity," especially when associated with collective, unconscious emotions—and a hoped-for, providential solution—is as close as one can come to speaking of *communitas,* mythopoesis, and a millennarian perspective without benefit of theories and systems of analysis that were still far in the future. Cf. *Poet as Mythmaker,* passim.

88. In the late Soviet period a subtle and sophisticated rearticulation of this idea by the critic Vadym Skurativs'kyj created a major literary scandal: the author was banned from print for several years and the editor of the journal that ran his piece, the poet Dmytro Pavlychko, was sacked. Presumably, the offense in Skurativs'kyj's essay, "Ševčenko v konteksti svitovoji literatury," *Vsesvit,* 1978, no. 3, pp. 184–109, was that it ascribed to the Ukrainian poet absolute—not contingent, not indebted-to-Russian-revolutionary-democratic-thought, but absolute—priority in articulating the cause of enslaved humanity:

Саме Шевченко вперше в історії (і не літератури, а людства) ворушив цю тисячолітню німоту, саме через нього вперше прохопилася словом, а не лише криком, сама зазвучала, як казали середньовічні теологи, "субстанція пекла", його моторошна, наскрізь пропечена стражданням "речовина". Тут не Орфей спустився в пекло—тут раптово заспівало, затужило в повний голос усе його каміння, усі його стіни й склепіння. Уявімо собі на хвилину, що соборний плач антільських невільників раптово повернувся в слово, віднайшов його, осів у ньому, не втративши при цьому жодної своєї сльози. Уявімо собі, що він, із своєї до-знакової, необхідної неоформленості і

The notion of Ševčenko-as-Prophet has long become equally central to the discourse. Already in 1879 Myxajlo Drahomanov was devoting the first chapter of his seminal study of Ševčenko to a survey of the way in which his "prophecy" was being parsed and exploited by virtually every political and socially articulate segment of Ukrainian society.[89] For his part, Kostomarov's achievement rests not only on the fact that he was one of the very first to articulate this idea and bring it to collective consciousness (a consciousness that quickly moved from the literary and cultural to the political), but that he also sought to define it. The paradigm he chose—that of Genius—was surely familiar to his readers. His treatment of Ševčenko's prophecy, and the genius that underlies it, however, turns out to be as ambivalent and prone to self-deconstruction as any that he was to apply to Ševčenko.

4. ŠEVČENKO THE GENIUS

The text in which Kostomarov confronts this problem, the *Urtext* and the Rosetta Stone of his Ševčenko reception, and the text around which we ourselves are somehow fated to circle in puzzlement and fascination, is again the "Vospominanie o dvux maljarax." Few things are more indicative of the present-day torpor in Ševčenko scholarship, particularly its treatment of his reception, than the fact that the profound ambiguities of this remarkable essay have never really been examined.[90] Critics and commentators would cite the inspired and eminently quotable passages without seeming to notice that the overall text in which they were imbedded was saying something quite

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стихійності перейшов у знаки з усіма їхніми прикметами, якостями, умовами, обов'язками—у знакову реальність мови, зберігаючи водночас свою стихійну, невідпорну силу, свою дорефлективну, дораціональну міць. Із своєї без-мірності він прийшов до міри, в гранично вивірений простір вірша, у піфагорейську періодичність метра й ритму, при цьому залишаючись по суті своїй безмірним, постійно перекриваючи всі ритуали розміру й рими.

Сума таких уявлень і наблизить нас почасти до розуміння всієї грандіозності й загадковості явища Шевченка, до його планетарного значення. Вперше його словом заговорили світи, які залишалися таємницею за сімома замками для елітарної культури, чи не для всіх її літературних експедицій, туди споряджених" (p. 187).

The argument is nuanced and forceful, but its conceptual matrix, its (in all likelihood quite subliminal) paradigm is Kostomarov's.

89. Cf. his "Ševčenko, ukrajinofily i socializm," *Hromada,* no. 4, 1879, pp. 101–230. (Cf. also M. P. Drahomanov, *Literaturno-publicystyčni praci u dvox tomax* (Kyiv, 1970), vol. 2, pp. 7–133.)

90. Cf., for example, two of the more substantive and balanced treatments—Je. Šabliovskyj's "Ševčenko i Kostomarov," *Zbirnyk prac' p'jatnadcjatoji naukovoji ševčenkivs'koji konferenciji* (Kyiv, 1968), pp. 23–50 and M. P. Komyšančenko's *Z istoriji ukrajins'koho ševčenkoznavstva. Tvorčist' T. H. Ševčenka v ocinci došovtnevoho literaturoznavstva* (Kyiv, 1972), pp. 169–79.

different; alternatively, in some editions the text was abbreviated and the implicit "contradictions" simply deleted (without the least hint, of course, that what was left out might radically change the picture).[91]

In effect, the passages in question articulate the first serious attempt to look at the total meaning of Ševčenko, with special reference to both the historical existence and the consciousness of the nation. In terms of identifying the issue, to be sure, they are preceded by only a few weeks by Kuliš's article, or "letter from the homestead," "Čoho stojit' Ševčenko jako poet narodnyj," which appeared in *Osnova* in March of 1861. In it, the other high priest of the nascent Ukrainian secular religion speaks of Ševčenko as one who gave voice to Ukrainian collective feelings, who first showed the sublime power and dignity of the *narod*, who first communed with the mute burial mounds, in effect was the first to understand the Ukrainian national past, and who, like Moses for the Israelites, led the *narod* from its bookish (!) bondage.[92] But Kuliš's insights are couched in characteristically pragmatic terms—the emancipation of the *narod* from its own muteness and the insignificance imposed upon it by the "city's" canon—and characteristically are not attuned to the personal and human dimension. Kostomarov's advantage is that his are; and for him, Ševčenko's role is shown as

91. Cf., e.g., *T. G. Ševčenko v vospominanijax sovremennikov* (Kyiv, 1962), pp. 151–53.

92. Thus: "...аж тут Шевченко голосно на всю Україну озвався, мов усі співи народні і всі людські сльози разом заговорили. Підняв він з домовини німу нашу пам'ять, визвав на суд нашу мовчазну старосьвітчину і поставив перед нею Українця, який він єсть тепер, яким він через історію стався"; "Шевченко—наш поет і первий історик. Шевченко перше всіх запитав наші німі могили, що вони таке, і одному тілько йому дали вони ясну, як Боже слово, одповідь. Шевченко перше всіх додумався, чим наша старосьвітчина славна і за що проклянуть її грядущі роди"; "Шевченко чистим подвигом словесним докінчив діло, за которе гетьмани наші нечистим серцем бралися. Шевченко, воздвигши із упадку голосну мову українську, назнаменав широкі границі нашому духу народньому. Тепер уже не мечем наше народне право на вражих твердинях зарубане, не шпаргалами і печатьми супротив лукавства людського стверджене: у тисячах вірних душ українських воно на самому дні заховане і тисячолітніми споминками запечатане"; "Тим-то не хто, як хуторяне та селяне, знають і чують душею, чого стояв Шевченко. Він їх вивів, наче Ізраїля, із книжньої неволі, в котору були городяне взяли всякий розум письменний; він скинув з них ганьбу всесвітню, що вони люде—ні до чого; він возвеличив їх образ духовний і виставив його на взір перед цивілізованим миром..."

"Čoho stojit' Ševčenko jako poet narodnyj", *Tvory Pantelejmona Kuliša*, vol. 6 (L'viv, 1910), pp. 488, 490, 492 and 494.

The sense of a sacerdotal cast to Kuliš's—and Kostomarov's—roles was felt by both principals. As described by Kuliš in his remembrance of Kostomarov (see n. 135, below), in their post-exile period (and prior to their estrangement in the late 1870s) they spontaneously came to address each other as "Otec Nikolaj" and "Otec Pantelejmon"—and correspond in a form of Old Church Slavonic (see, for example, Ihnat Žytec'kyj, "Kuliš i Kostomarov (Nedrukovane lystuvannja 1860–70 гг.)," *Ukrajina*, bk. 1–2, 1927, pp. 39–65). What began as a donnish mockery of their own bookishness and archivalism became a self-fulfilling prophecy—and a revealing metatext on the national revival.

inseparable from his individuality. The imagery here does echo Kuliš, but it clearly rings with Kostomarov's own voice, and it draws its strength from the personal, autobiographical connection.

Kostomarov begins by saying that when he first met Ševčenko there was nothing attractive or warm about him: he was cold and dry, though straightforward. In this Kostomarov professes to see the characteristic, historically conditioned reserve and suspicion of the peasant. "But," he continues,

> in a short time we came together and became friends. Taras Hryhorovyč read me his unpublished poetry. I was overcome with fear: the impact they had on me reminded me of Schiller's ballad "The Veiled Image at Sais." I saw that Ševčenko's muse was tearing in two the veil of national life. It was frightening and sweet and painful and intoxicating to peer inside!!! Poetry always takes the lead, always takes the bold step; history, scholarship and practical activity follow in its footsteps. It is easier for the latter, but difficult for the former. One must have keen eyesight and strong nerves so as not to be blinded or to fall senseless from the sudden flash of truth that is thankfully concealed from the meek crowd that follows the beaten path alongside the mysterious veil—not knowing what is concealed behind that veil! Taras's muse broke through to some underground dungeon which for several centuries was closed by many locks, sealed by many seals, covered up by the earth which had purposefully been tilled and seeded so as to conceal from the descendants even the memory of the place where the underground cavern was to be found. Taras's muse, with its inextinguishable light, boldly entered this cavern and opened up behind it a path for the sun's rays, and fresh air, and human curiosity. It will be easy to enter into this cavern now that air has been let in; but what human strength must it take to stand up to the age old miasma that can kill in an instant any living force and extinguish any earthly flame! Woe to the bold poet—he forgets that he is a man, and that if he dares to be the first to enter he may fall... But poetry does not fear deadly miasms—if it is true poetry. And its light will not be doused by any historical or societal fumes, for that light burns with an eternal fire, the fire of Prometheus.[93]

When somewhat further on he speaks of the "life-giving voice of genius,"[94] he is clearly building on these inspired images. And it was surely this pathos that elicited the initial enthusiasm for his essay.

Judging by the subsequent reception of Kostomarov as a reader of Ševčenko, this vision became the centerpiece of his critical legacy. The passage draws its power from a syncretism that clearly means to evoke the poetic world and the multifaceted impact of Ševčenko: the echoes of mythical, biblical, and archetypal imagery, of Prometheus ("Kavkaz"), and of the Ur-poet, Orpheus, who through his music made mankind human, and was

93. "Vospominanija o dvux maljarax," pp. 88–89.
94. Ibid., p. 90; cf. also n. 80.

also the first to descend to Hades,[95] the allusions to literary craft and to the critic's own model of perception (Schiller's poem), and the opening of history's crypt ("Rozryta mohyla," "Velykyj l'ox"), the not-so-veiled allusion to society's (the government's!) strictures, the "miasms" that stifle opposition and fresh thought, and, above all, the overwhelming, personal immediacy of the experience of reading the poetry: "It was frightening, and sweet, and painful, and intoxicating to peer inside!!!" Despite all that, however, the experience and the insight are qualified, and then undercut.

They are qualified, on the one hand, by the intellectual thrust of the whole argument. As we have seen, Ševčenko's *narodnist',* his identification with the *narod,* his role as its spokesman or indeed *porte parole* are consistently superimposed on the individual, the role of genius-as-such. For every phrase or image of the above passage there are two or three sentences, even paragraphs, that elaborate and vary the thesis that his poetry flows from and articulates the voice of the people. The sheer volume of the rhetoric enforces this perspective and reinforces our sense that Kostomarov's notion of genius—for all the eloquence he invests in describing Ševčenko's individual power and originality, his virtually superhuman effort in transcending the limitations of normal mankind—is essentially Herderian: genius is understandable only within the context of the nation, the Volk, the *narod.*[96] Even more eloquent is the overall conceptual frame of this essay, which, after all, is entitled "A Remembrance of Two Painters." Ševčenko, we know, was a painter—even though this is not what gave him his orpheic and promethean character. Who, then, was the other painter?

There is certainly no suspense, for Kostomarov tells us this at the very outset. The essay, in fact, begins like an anecdote, or the tale of an amateur ethnographer:

95. The image of the common man's everyday life as a living hell is a striking topos in Ševčenko; cf., for example, in "Jakby vy znaly panyči":

..в тім гаю
У тій хатині, у раю
Я бачив пекло...

96. Cf. Giorgio Tonelli, "Genius, from the Renaissance to 1770," *Dictionary of the History of Ideas* (New York, 1973), vol. 2, p. 295. It is important to note that this conflation of genius and nation (*narod*) had deeply permeated the intellectual climate of the time. See, for example, the passage in a letter of V. M. Bilozers'kyj to M. I. Hulak, which is one of the first recorded responses that defines Ševčenko in these terms:

Вчера был у меня Иван Як[овлевич] П[осяденко] и сказал, что Ш[евченко] написал новую поэму «Иоанн Гусс». Я поневоле приятно позадумался над тем, какого гениального человека мы имеем в Тарасе Гр[игорьевиче], ибо только гений посредством глубокого чувства, способен угадывать потребности народа и даже целого века, к чему не приведут никакая наука, ни знания, без огня поэтического и вместе религиозного. *Kyrylo-Mefodijivs'ke tovarystvo*, vol. 1, p. 105.

> In one village of the eastern Ukrainian territories there lived, and maybe still lives today, a highly remarkable personality. This personality is capable of evoking many thoughts in one's soul and of leaving indelible impressions; this was the peasant Hryc'ko, by profession a painter. As is well known, a painter is a frequent occurrence in Ukrainian peasant life. Painting is usually one of the first steps taken by a peasant when his individual talent leads him out of the agrarian cycle. A painter is usually also literate; art leads him to curiosity; the painter paints the Virgin, holy men and women, and it is useful to know how to represent them; there appears the desire to know who they were and what happened to them in life, and the painter reads Holy Writ and the Lives of the Saints...[97]

Kostomarov continues in this tone of sympathetic condescension for several pages: we get details of how Hryc'ko grew up as an orphan, how he was a strange child, put to work as a herdsman and considered somewhat retarded by the villagers; how his master recognized his talent for drawing and decided that there would be more use from him if he were taught to be a painter; how he learned to read and as a typical peasant auto-didact sought to make sense of the world by studying the Bible and popular Russian novels (by such as Bulgarin or Marlinsky), after which he advanced to popular world history and simple mathematics. When Kostomarov (so the story goes) loses sight of him, he is still a serf and still engaged in painting icons and other primitives.[98]

The story of Hryc'ko serves as a rather lengthy introduction to Ševčenko. The transition itself is more or less plausible:

> That year when for the last time I saw Hryc'ko the painter, on the opposite western part of Ukraine I met by accident another painter. His early fate is similar to that of Hryc'ko; but nature, which was generous to both, gave to this painter other gifts and thus ordained another path. This painter was called Taras Hryhorovyč Ševčenko. There is no need here to recount the story of his youth or his early upbringing: he himself has described it in his autobiography. This painter did not succumb to the chains that had entangled him at birth—his talent burst them and led him from the narrow sphere of obscurity into that of elevated thoughts, deep suffering and immortality. "He was the glory of his time," Ukraine will some day say of him, as was once said of one of her Hetmans.[99]

The bulk of the essay, of course, deals with Ševčenko himself, and in it, as we have seen, Kostomarov elaborates not one, but all four of the basic modalities or keys of his treatment of Ševčenko; by reason of this synthetic approach, but especially by virtue of the passion and intensity that continually inform his multi-leveled argument, this remains *the* central text of his Ševčenkiana. It is highly significant, therefore, that at the end of this

97. "Vospominanija o dvux maljarax," p. 86.
98. Ibid., pp. 86–88.
99. Ibid., p. 88.

crowning work Kostomarov again returns to the theme of the *two* painters. And he does so not to contrast them, but to reinforce the similarity between them. Having touched all the bases (and beyond what was already discussed this also includes a brief, but characteristically sharp rebuttal of Polish attempts to "tame" Ševčenko), Kostomarov ties his whole reminiscence into one focused *pointe*: "In the present time," he says,

> when the great epoch of national renewal [*èpoxa obnovlenija narodnoj žizni*] is being consummated, I turn with sorrow to my remembrance of the two Ukrainian painters that I knew in my life. The liberation of the *narod* will not be of any use to my two poor painters. Hryc'ko the painter was born too early and lived the better years of his life under the oppression of serfdom, which prevented him from developing his remarkable talent for his own spiritual happiness and the good of others; Taras the painter died early, missing by only six days the day which would have been the happiest day in his martyr's life: for it was that day that began the consummation of that which was the soul of Taras's poetry.
>
> But is it right, you will say, to mourn two painters when millions are rejoicing for themselves and their descendants? It is right—because with this rememberence of two painters thousands and milions crowd the imagination—painters, wheelwrights, carpenters, herdsmen, farm workers, and all types of servants: lackeys, drivers, yard-keepers, to many of whom nature may well have given at birth the right to be something other that what they actually became; while at the same time others, the great men of word and deed—writers of books, artists, men of jurisprudence—should perhaps, in view of their true abilities, be performing the duties of the former. It is right—because even the greatest of human advances will not put an end to the obstacles that stand in the way of man fulfilling on this earth his natural calling. It is right, finally, because with every remembrance of a man who did not achieve in life that for which he strove you are obliged to confront those crushing, unanswerable questions: Why are we mortal? Why are we stupid? Why do we grow old?...[100]

This concluding coda surely reveals Kostomarov at his rhetorical best: combining reason and passion, a sense of the righteous cause with genuinely poetic insight into the emotions which animate his audience and which were the creative wellspring of the poet whose memory they have come to honor. Not the least of its achievements is that its pathos so effectively obscures the odd narrative construct that animates this essay. For if one looks at it more closely, the idea of "the two painters" cannot but give rise to a number of puzzling questions.

All of them turn on the profound asymmetry of juxtaposing the outstanding Ukrainian cultural figure of his time with an anonymous and semiliterate peasant painter. The most basic question that arises here is simply: Was there ever a Hryc'ko-*maljar*? What evidence is adduced for his

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100. Ibid., pp. 92–93.

existence? For virtually everything that is said of him cries out "topos" or "type".[101] He seems nothing so much as a literary fiction, an echo of preexisting models. Thus, the device of contrasting peasants in order to show their essential individuality and humanity and to dispel the contemptuous notion that they were a mere faceless mass was at the heart of Turgenev's *Zapiski oxotnika* (1852), particularly the first, programmatic story, "Xor and Kalinich."[102] But despite the literary stylization, and the possible echoes of Turgenev, Hryc'ko the painter was real—as we can see from a letter he wrote to Kostomarov in 1868 requesting help in a family matter and clearly referring to a meeting such as the one with which the memoir begins.[103] (Whether Kostomarov did answer and help is not evident from the historical record.) Within the narrative of the "Vospominanie o dvux maljarax" the problem is more specific and acute: the juxtaposition of Taras Ševčenko and Hryc'ko the painter, or, specifically, the depiction of Hryc'ko's early life, seems to function primarily as a parody of Ševčenko. The signals may be more or less subtle, but they are unmistakable. For one thing, what is presented as Hryc'ko's childhood and early years largely follows that of Ševčenko's; later in the text Kostomarov himself alludes to this directly ("Pervonačalnaja sud'ba ego byla poxoža na sud'bu Gric'ka"[104]), but curiously it is Hryc'ko, not Ševčenko, who provides the frame of reference. Thus:

> He was born a serf. In childhood he lost his parents and was left to be brought up by his relatives. He was put to herding the lord's herd, I do not recall which one. There was something strange in the boy; the peasants thought he was dull-witted [*ščitali ego pridurkovatym*]. There is no point of telling how he avoided the children's games and how the boys pinched him and roughed him up for this. Otherwise, one would be forced to repeat what we so often encounter in the descriptions of childhood in the lives of saints. When on windless days the millers

101. This is suggested by an apparent indefiniteness in the narrative, beginning with the opening line: "В одном селе восточного малороссийского края..." and various generalizations; thus, only in the first paragraph: "Как известно, в малороссийском крестьянском быту, маляр—явление частое," or "Маляр, обыкновенно, вместе с тем и грамотный..." or "Но известно, что Малороссиянин, как только сделается благочестивим человеком, сейчас начинает философствовать"; ibid., p. 86.

102. For a highly informative discussion of the "humanization" of the peasant, cf. Donald Fanger, "The Peasant in Literature," in *The Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Russia*, ed. Wayne S. Vucinich (Stanford, 1968), pp. 231–62.

103. See the letter to Kostomarov from "Maljar, Hryhorij" (*sic*) dated 26 November 1868 and signed "Hryc'ko maljar," fond 22, no. 178, in the Central'na naukova biblioteka in Kyiv. The content is clear and moving and describes Hryc'ko's deep worry that his son is being discriminated against in school—according to him, both for his peasant background and his independent thinking—and faces expulsion. He appeals to Kostomarov to intercede and reminds him that in their earlier meeting (!) he, Kostomarov, had promised that if a need were to arise he would help in whatever way possible.

104. "Vospominanija o dvux maljarax," p. 88.

were not working, Hryc'ko would sit under a windmill that was at the edge of the village and would draw on its walls various figures with coal or chalk; thus he once lost his animals; for which he was whipped. This repeated itself again. The landlord decided that his farm boy's drawings are not without value, and that in view of that his career as a worker is misdirected: he will sooner be a painter than a swineherd or shepherd. The landlord gave it further thought and then set him off to be taught by some artist in the county town.[105]

Here, and in subsequent passages, these same moments (variations, in effect, on the theme of the poet's humble origins and unique calling) which will resonate with a special pathos in the future canon of Ševčenko biography, are presented as typical and rather banal. The narrator suggests as much through his own casual lack of interest in the details: "Ego pristavili pasti gospodskoe stado, ne pomnju kakoe," or "...iz nego skoree vyjdet živopisec, čem svinar ili ovčar," or "... i otdal ego v nauku kakomu-to xudožniku v svoem uezdnom gorode." At the same time, the irony of the reference to hagiography—the notion is applied, after all, to the life of a Hryc'ko—is pointed and inescapable. Given the parallels that are set in motion here, that irony, by the process of an excluded middle, implicitly devolves upon Ševčenko. In the purely formal sense, the overall asymmetry of the narrative—the juxtaposition of the premier Ukrainian cultural figure with an unknown peasant—can only function as parody.

There is another, no less striking element of asymmetry in the narrative, however (and, as in all such instances, this overdetermination suggests causes and a level of meaning more profound than the merely formal or conventional). For in effect, having postulated by the title and the initial focus on Hryc'ko that he will be dealing with "two painters," Kostomarov, when he does turn to Ševčenko, does not discuss him as a painter at all—other than by applying to him an identical formula: "Taras-*maljar.*"[106] The entire treatment of Ševčenko is focused on his poetry, its unprecedented power and resonance, and above all its *narodnist'*. That he was also a professional and highly talented painter, who through his painting and his study of art had normal access to high culture—the fact, in a word, that he was not a *maljar*, but a *xudožnik* who precisely because of this, and notwithstanding his roots in the Ukrainian peasantry, could also fit into that high society designated by Kostomarov as "*knigopiscy, xudožniki, zakonniki*"—this remains totally blocked out.[107] In effect, a remarkable, and

105. Ibid., p. 86.

106. To be sure, he does note that in 1858, when they met after long years of exile, it was within the walls of the Academy of Arts (in St. Petersburg); ibid., p. 89.

107. A good example here is *Xudožnik*. (A richly illustrated depiction of the world of high art implied or alluded to in its pages is found in *Povest' Tarasa Ševčenko "Xudožnik". The Artist, A Story by Taras Shevchenko* [Kyiv, 1989].) Kostomarov may have known this

complementary double distortion occurs here: just as Ševčenko's poetry was placed and discussed exclusively in the frame of folk poetry, of Kol'cov, the *narod,* and so on, so also the starting point and basic criterion for the overall discussion of the "two painters" is determined not by Ševčenko but by Hryc'ko. For the "normal" and "logical" juxtaposition, the frame projected by manifest, social reality, would have required, for example, that Ševčenko be compared with his teacher, Brjulov, or with his friend and fellow art student Shternberg—but not by any stretch of the imagination with an all but anonymous Hryc'ko. (By the same token—although some time needed to pass—the comparison to Kol'cov would also appear more and more inadequate.) The fact that Kostomarov does indeed construe the frame in the way he does suggests that what is at issue are not "two painters" but "two Ukrainian painters," or, given the fact that for him the category of *Ukrainian* is coterminous with and quite indistinguishable from that of the *narod,* "two painters from the *narod,*" in effect "two peasant painters." In sum, the entire essay is built on this paradigm, and the final coda, where the formula of the "two painters" is yet again invoked, is only its most eloquent articulation.

Does it follow from this that Kostomarov's underlying intent is to somehow debunk or deflate Ševčenko? Certainly not consciously. For all the complexities of his relationship to the poet, Kostomarov's overall conception, and his various formulations, are guided by the large task of paying homage to the one who already then was being identified as the greatest son of the Ukrainian *narod.* None of Kostomarov's contemporaries—not the audience at the commemorative evening that first heard him read his essay, not Kuliš and Bilozers'kyj who immediately printed it in *Osnova*, not any of the many critics and memoirists that wrote on Ševčenko, and on Kostomarov—perceived anything untoward in it. In fact, as was already noted, to this day the critical tradition has not focused on it as an issue of implicit historical or esthetic misprision, or even as a *problem* in the reception of Ševčenko. But the dual perspective, the narrative that proceeds not as a story about Ševčenko but as one about "two painters," clearly suggests a fundamental redefinition of the poet; the various rhetorical and narrative devices, beginning with the belletrization itself, the notes of irony (particularly as regards the inevitable tendency to engage in hagiography), the intimations of parody, all contribute to a serious conceptual, even "ideological" purpose. That they were not perceived as such, that Kostomarov's revision was not recognized for what it

novella even as he was writing the "Vospominanie o dvux maljarax." To be sure, in 1862, it was M. Lazarevs'kyj who was in posession of the manuscripts of Ševčenko's novellas and was in fact announcing their sale. In time they all came into Kostomarov's possession. At the very least, however, Kostomarov certainly knew Ševčenko's biography, his life in St. Petersburg, and his participation in the world of art, culture, and society.

On the one hand, this is the question of intellectual rigor and honesty. Kostomarov's flaw or "sin" is that he knew, but chose not to know. He chose to turn a blind eye to the evidence. He certainly was not privy to all of Ševčenko's thoughts, and he indeed might not have witnessed such sentiments as the "*moskalenenavidenija*" which Kuliš recounts with such relish.[110] But more than any of his contemporaries, and much more than most of the later critics, he had access to the texts. From his own words we see that he knew their broad range—the illicit, "subversive" poems from the "Try lita" period, written just before the two of them met, the "bootleg," exile poetry of the *Mala knyzhka*, which Kostomarov himself says could never hope to pass the censor, the extensive evidence of the prose, where the narrator, far from being a man of the people, a "*prostoljudin*," is sophisticated and cosmopolitan.[111] The evidence they provide, individually and cumulatively, goes far towards refocusing or correcting the picture that Kostomarov chose to draw. But draw it he did. What remains, therefore, is to consider his reasons.

5. THE QUESTION OF MOTIVES

Admittedly, an inquiry into motives relies primarily on inference and runs the risk of conjecture. In this case, however, it can hardly be avoided. For even if one does not need to provide reasons for the flash of brilliant insight, one cannot speak of blindness, of a certain intellectual, and particularly *systematic* obfuscation, without attempting to identify the underlying causes. That said, we can discern several distinct areas of motivation.

The first of these—basic and banal—is fear. A small, but telling example of the climate in which the poet, or critic, or scholar had to work is provided in a reminiscence of Kostomarov written by a close friend, the minor poet Oleksandr Korsun. The incident he describes occurred when he was a student at Xarkiv University, and Kostomarov had just finished (the time is around 1840), and concerns another minor Ukrainian poet, Amvrosij Metlyns'kyj (pseudonym: Amvrosij Mohyla) who was then a professor there. Its point is simple: Korsun and Kostomarov were then doing comparative Slavic work and the former had borrowed from the university library a three volume edition of Mickiewicz in order to translate his "Crimean sonnets"; to get the books he had used a blank signed by Metlyns'kyj, which the latter had given

110. Cf. n. 69 above; cf. also Drahomanov's comment on the literary tradition (which he sees as going back to Kotljarevs'kyj, Kvitka, and the early Gogol') of such "moskalenenavidenija": "Ševčenko, ukrainofily i socializm," *Literaturno-publicystyčni praci*, vol. 2, pp. 14–15, n. 3.

111. Cf. above, passim, especially nn. 39 and 109, and Drahomanov's comments, below.

him as a matter of routine (the system required professors to sign out books). When Metlyns'kyj heard of what had been borrowed over his signature he sent a messenger with a note demanding that Korsun "'immediately, as soon as possible', return Mickiewicz to the library." "He was in horror," Korsun explains, "at my boldness—taking out these disgraceful books in his name."[112] Korsun notes in passing that the edition in question was published in Vilnius, with the official censor's approval. He does not comment on Metlyns'kyj's panicked reaction.

But the event that showed—with the greatest public and historical resonance—that the government was utterly serious about the danger of Ukrainian separatism was the trial and conviction of the members of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius. This, of course, is a separate issue and deserves separate attention, but the recent publication of the voluminous files on this case of the *Tret'e Otdelenie* does oblige the historian to reopen it.[113] Even a preliminary glance shows two discernible patterns. The first is that the authorities (a) were not working with any clearly defined sense of what constitutes criminal activity in the purview of literature, and of historical and ethnographic research, and the right (or lack of it) to associate (something not unexpected in an authoritarian, despotic state), and (b) were not at all persuaded about the criminal intent of most of the accused; in fact, the assessment is repeatedly made that most were guided by excessive enthusiasm, indiscretion and naivete, not by subversive intent.[114] Indeed, the only one deemed to be clearly guilty is Ševčenko. At the same time (and this clearly flows from the preceding), the investigators were inclined to pounce on anything, even the seemingly trivial—Kuliš's drawing of a severed Cossack head, with an eagle on it, his conceit of appending the phrase *rukoju vlasnoju* as he signed his letters (this, presumably echoing the practice of the Cossack hetmans), or the fact that someone used the word *kacap* (derogatory for "Russian")—if it could illustrate Ukrainian patriotism, separatism or anti-Russian feeling.[115] The second pattern, or the overall strategy, is more sophisticated. It draws the conclusion—from the historical perspective, surely justified—that even seemingly innocent expressions of Ukrainophilism are potentially dangerous and subversive, and it sets in motion a broad set of measures to carefully monitor all educational, cultural and intellectual

112. Aleksandr Korsunov, "N. I. Kostomarov," *Russkij arxiv*, no. 10, 1890, pp. 206–207.

113. *Kyrylo-Mefodijivs'ke Tovarystvo*, ed. I. I. Hlyz' et al. (Kyiv, 1990), vols. 1–3.

114. Cf., for example, the official conclusions regarding Kuliš's culpability (ibid., vol. 2, doc. no. 48, pp. 80–81), and that of Kostomarov (ibid., vol. 1, doc. no. 366, pp. 307–308.

115. Most telling in this regard is the interrogation of Kuliš; cf. ibid., vol. 2, doc. no. 36, pp. 47–59.

activities as they pertain to the issue of Ukraine and Russia and to root out any dangerous tendencies.[116] The policy of instilling the fear of God into all real and potential Ukrainian or Ukrainophile dissidents is thus spelled out well before the more concrete actions of the Valuev circular of 1863 and the Ems ukaz of 1876.

Not surprisingly, fear, attenuated into political caution, became for many the very warp of their *public* self-identification. Thus, Drahomanov, writing with great forthrightness (but still from the safety of Geneva) speaks of the disconcerting readiness of Ševčenko's friends, colleagues and exegetes to deny his most basic and passionate commitments. For as much as Ševčenko's formulations are devoid of, or simply unatuned to, the political dimension as such, his allegiance is to Ukraine, and her freedom and separateness from Russia is the cornerstone of his vision. And it is precisely this "patriotism" and "separatism" that his friends and exegetes are the first to deny.[117] The priority, as Drahomanov correctly observes, must go to Kuliš, who

> ... in the Epilogue to *Čorna rada*, which was published in the Moscow *Russkaja beseda* in 1857, and not yet daring to call Ševčenko by name, speaks of this "outstanding poet of south Russian poetry, the singer of human injustice and his own fiery tears" thus:
>
> They call him a fanatical [*bezumnyj*] patriot, but among other things it is he who struck the first blow against that pernicious local patriotism which raises up its own historical heroes and turns its eyes away from the achievements of the neighboring nation [*narod*], that patriotism which posits its glory not in the success and security of the whole country, but in the victory of some party or even some individuals, at times, indeed, to the detriment of the whole population... Yes, he would become fanatic [*doxodil do bezumija*] in pouring out his anger at human injustice; he was possessed when he called upon heaven and earth [to punish] those whom he held responsible for the suffering of fellow man. But who will judge the poet for the fact that succumbing to the unbearable pain in his heart he did not maintain measure in his cries?[118]

As for Kostomarov, a few years later he would deny there even was a sin of "*bezumnyj patriotizm*." Drahomanov adduces here the already cited notion from the "Vospominanie o dvux maljarax" ("Neither the Great Russians without the Ukrainians, nor the latter without the former, can complete their development. The one people is indispensable for the other; the one

116. See, for example, O. F. Orlov's draft of his summary report to Nicholas I regarding the society, ibid., vol. 3, doc. no. 426, pp. 306–308.

117. For his part, Ševčenko seems to have been prescient on this issue as well: cf. the ending of "Marija."

118. M. Drahomanov, "Ševčenko, ukrainofily i socializm," *Tvory v dvox tomax*, vol. 2, p. 8.

nationality complements the other..."[119]), and shows that it was not only a standard leitmotif, but an idea that informed the thinking of many:

> With small differences, the words of Mr. Kostomarov were always spoken by the Ukrainophiles in Russia when there was occasion to speak *publicly* of Ševčenko [emphasis mine—G.G.G.]. We ourselves said something similar in *Nedelja* in 1874 and the *Kievskij telegraf* in 1875. And such things were said not from insincerity but from the fact that when some Ukrainophiles in Russia truly did not wish to appear as "separatists," each for their own reasons, of course (thus Mr. Kostomarov, in his scholarly works written after 1857, would come out with ideas about the "federal principles" in all of Rus'; others were heading in the direction of universal socialist thought)—then they simply did not want to admit, even to themselves, that their "prophet" was at any time a "Ukrainian separatist."[120]

In the final analysis, however, the premise that fear as such is an operant motive is not altogether persuasive. Here, again, Drahomanov provides a succinct statement of the problem. In a short article entitled "Obščerusstvo Kostomarova" (which is actually a letter to the editor of the Galician newspaper *Pravda*), he responds to a polemical article, "Ukrajins'ke pys'menstvo i M. L. Kostomarov. Vidpovid' M. P. Drahomanovu," that had appeared earlier that year (1892) over the signature "Černyhovec'" (the pen name of Illja Šrag)[121] and notes that the only real issue in their polemic is whether Kostomarov was sincere in his loyalist views.[122] An answer, he argues, could be provided by some new documentation—letters, diaries, and so on—which at that moment was simply not available. He also points out that the strictures (especially before 1876) were hardly so severe that one could not take a stand:

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119. Ibid., pg. 8. Cf. n. 60 above.

120. Ibid., pp. 8–9. Even though the attacks were scurrilous, Kostomarov would more than once defend himself against the charge of separatism; cf., e.g., "Ukrainskij separatizm," "Otvet g. Malorossu-Volyncu," and "Otvet Malorossu-Volyncu" (all written in 1864); *Naukovo-publicystycni praci,* pp. 193–200. An inkling of the tenor of this discourse is conveyed, for example, by the concluding paragraph of his "Otvet g. Malorossu-Volyncu":

> Пусть же г. Малоросс-Волынец или кто-нибудь другой из усердных рыцарей, *сражающихся с сепаративнимы призраками, один раз на всегда обличит меня в* преступных замыслах и вредных побуждениях и предаст справедливому суду общества и властей; а если это невозможно, то прошу избавить мое имя от двумысленных намеков, относящихся к области уголовного суда а не литературы. Если г. Малоросс-Волынец честный человек, *то он должен объявить свое настоящее имя. После тех* клевет, которые расточали в своих брошюрах Поляки против Малорусских писателей, обвиняя их в разрушительном коммунизме, превратном социализме и из'являя удивление: как это Русское правительство терпит подобное зловредное направление, нам сомнительно, чтобы этот "Волынец" был "Малоросс." Ibid., p. 198.

121. Cf. O. I. Dej, *Slovnyk ukrajins'kyx psevdonimiv* (Kyiv, 1969), p. 391.

122. M. Drahomanov, *Lysty do Iv. Franka i ynšyx. 1887–1895*; vydav Ivan Franko, L'viv, 1908, pp. 388–404; here p. 399.

Whoever wanted to could express himself in print, even after the *lex Josephoviciae*—as, for example, Ol[ena] Pčilka, who did so in Russia, or Nečuj [Levyc'kyj] in Austria, and that given the fact that Nečuj, whose real name was long known in Russia, was indeed serving as a teacher. To think that Kostomarov would fear the squinting eye of some bureaucrat, even if a minister, and would thus not dare express his real thoughts in a matter that was after all not political but literary, is to ascribe to Kostomarov something that is indeed much worse than opportunism.

One may agree with this or not, and Drahomanov may well be projecting his own responses. But what follows is more persuasive, namely the argument of internal consistency:

The main thing is that Kostomarov's "all-Russian" [*obščerus'ki*] views in matters of literature fully correspond to his historical views, which he expounded in all his scholarly works. It is difficult to assume that a person like Kostomarov could lie for all those years, in twenty-five volumes of scholarly work!! In all these works, Kostomarov, even while admitting a certain national distinctness in the Ukrainian population, not only did not deny Rusianness [*rus'kosti*] either to the Belarusians or the Great Russians, but looked at them as his own people, much closer than the other Slavs. More than that: for all his Ukrainian autonomism (which, to be sure, after 1847 Kostomarov never fully elaborated in relation to the present), he looked at the annexation of Ukraine to Muscovy as something organic, and on the Muscovite state, and the new Russian Empire, as direct descendants of the old Kyivan Rus'—and thus he also deemed organic the consequences of Russian state history of the eighteenth century, specifically the cultural unity of Ukraine and Muscovy; he saw the—"all-Russian," as he called it—literature of Puškin and Gogol' and others like them as native [*ridnoju*] to the Ukrainians as well, and in this language he wrote almost all his works, indeed all the works through which he made himself immortal both in Ukraine and in Muscovy.[123]

The second major area of motivation relates to Kostomarov's temperament, the quirks and predilections that for the most part were more apparent to his contemporaries than to later generations. His tendency to challenge received wisdom and specifically to debunk historical figures that popular lore and hagiographic historians had turned into national heroes had already elicited in his lifetime a number of attacks and polemics. In his *Autobiography* Kostomarov speaks of the resentment and anger released by his demythologization of such Russian "national heroes" as Susanin or his revisionist views on Dmitri Donskoj and the battle of Kulikovo. Thus of the former he says:

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123. Ibid., p. 400.

> Since I had attempted to show that the history of Susanin had been ornamented by various additions of idle fantasy, and the event could not have taken place in the form we have been accustomed to seeing it and even reading of it in the textbooks, there immediately appeared defenders of patriotic glory who sought to see in my action something malicious. A rumor began to spread that I have set for myself the task of devaluing glorious Russian [historical] figures and, so it was said, of removing from the pedestal and debunking Russian heroes.[124]

While Kostomarov's defense is persuasive, there is some truth to the charge: he did engage in the kind of scholarly inquiry that revises received knowledge and in so doing ruffles the feathers of complacent and self-satisfied "society." This is only to his credit as a historian, but he apparently did enjoy his role as gadfly and debunker (albeit an academic one). This penchant, however, can hardly be confined to his Russian ("all-Russian" or "Great Russian") topics: as a mode of inquiry or turn of mind it surely must extend to his Ukrainian themes, and in a small but very concrete guise we do see it in his oblique reference to the danger of hagiography in the accounts of Ševčenko's life. And, after all, the issue here is the psychological tendency to debunk—and that certainly would not be confined or restrained by the ethnic context. His larger, conscious and "ideological" frame, the need to juxtapose genius and *narod*, and the "tempering" or qualification of the former by the latter, is also consistent with such "revisionism."

The other character traits that are mentioned by his contemporaries and historians—his illness and irritability in later life, his tendency to unnecessary conflicts born of a "childish" stubbornness—may also have a bearing on his perspective on Ševčenko, but, given the chronology, they relate more to his overall biography, or his alienation from the mainstream of the Ukrainian movement in his declining years, than they do the reception proper.[125]

More complex, psychological moments may also play a role. One such is envy: a "Salieri complex." The notion certainly has been applied to Ševčenko's other great friend, exegete, and rival—Kuliš.[126] Leaving aside the inherent tenuousness of this model, and mindful of Drahomanov's rejoinder that any such allegation can only be weighed against some new documentation (or at least internal consistency), one is left with only one

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124. *Avtobiografija*, p. 591.

125. Cf. D. L. Mordovcev, "Istoričeskie pominki po N. I. Kostomarove," *Russkaja starina*, 1885, vol. 46, pp. 617–48; here p. 648; and Osyp Hermajze, "M. Kostomarov v svitli avtobiohrafiji," *Ukrajina*, 1925, nos. 1–2, pp. 79–87, here pp. 84–87.

126. Cf. especially the developed use of this metaphor in P. P. Čubs'kyj's (Myxajlo Mohyljans'kyj's) "Kuliš i Ševčenko," in *Pantelejmon Kuliš* (Kyiv, 1927), pp. 102–126; here, pp. 111, 117, 126 and passim [=Ukrajins'ka Akademija Nauk, Zbirnyk istoryčno-filolohičoho viddilu, no. 53].

piece of evidence—and even that is an absence. But it is a structured absence: for like Kuliš, Kostomarov, who had been a published Ukrainian poet, with two collections to his credit, virtually stopped writing poetry when Ševčenko appeared on the scene. After Ševčenko's death Kuliš returned to writing and publishing poetry; Kostomarov did not.[127] He wrote only a handful of poems after 1841, and indeed the prose and drama he wrote or published after the appearance of Ševčenko was written in Russian.[128] Does this constitute a retreat from Ukrainian writing and from the undoubtedly daunting prospect of being compared to Ševčenko? Is the resentment that this may imply sufficient to support a "Salieri complex"? The line of reasoning is not specious, and the psychological moment (especially since it has so long been repressed) bears further analysis, but its ability to shed light on Kostomarov's peculiar blind spots remains uncertain.

The second moment is also not certain, but is surely more profound, and its context, and textual underpinnings, now stand revealed. It again shows the workings of fear—now, however, raised to the level of panic. The psychological issue is guilt, born of recantation. Its locus, providing an emblematic instance of recantation, was the behavior of Kostomarov (and Kuliš as well) during the trial of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius. As the records of the investigation show, there were some, like Hulak, who were remarkably strong (at least at first), and some, like Bilozers'kyj, who caved in at the very outset. The one who stood out—in not recanting, or denying his work, or indeed apologizing for anything—was Ševčenko.[129] Kostomarov's performance was perhaps the poorest of all: he was the one who gave the most answers and redid his testimony the most times. He continually relied on intellectual elaboration and obfuscation; he was evasive and he contradicted himself, denying that he had written anything and denouncing what he had written as terrible; he was apologetic—and in the end he threw himself at the mercy of his inquisitors. His incoherence and agitation were such that still in the course of the investigation the police came to the conclusion that he was losing his mind.[130] On his behalf it should be

127. Cf. Kostomarov's introduction to the first posthumous (1867) edition of the *Kobzar,* which he also edited. As Kuliš later saw it, its thrust was to concede that after Ševčenko one could hardly try to compete in that medium ("...после него напрасно стал бы кто-нибудь звонит в его струны..."); "Vospominanija o Nikolaje Ivanoviče Kostomarove," *Nov',* 1885, vol. 4, no. 13, p. 73.

128. It is also revealing that Kostomarov began the story "Sorok lit" in Ukrainian in 1840, but only wrote the first chapter. It appeared in print in Russian (with a wholly reworked first chapter) in 1876.

129. Cf., e.g., the protocol of his interrogation: *Kyrylo-Mefodijivs'ke tovarystvo,* vol. 2, doc. no. 261, pp. 324–28.

130. Thus in the official medical report of May 2, 1847, signed by staff physician Špis:

noted that apart from the fact that of all those arrested he had the most to lose (his budding career, his reputation), his treatment at the hands of the police was not only calculatedly brutal (after his arrest he was confined for almost a day in a shed that resembled a pig sty), but specifically devised to find his weak points and to break him psychologically.

In time, the legacy of this trial and their respective responses may well have become for Kostomarov a quintessential burden of guilt: he had denied his beliefs and his writings, and Ševčenko had not.[131] Both had faced their moment of truth, but one had flinched. Kostomarov had survived (first in the relative comfort of Saratov and then simply by living longer) and Ševčenko, in Kostomarov's own words, had "boldly entered the cavern... forget[ting] that he is a man, and that if he dares to be the first to enter he may fall..." The ensuing pattern of contradictory feelings, of identification with and praise for the hero, of denial of this and seeming flashes of amnesia, and then further compensation for it, would appear to point to a central dark area in the relationship, a truth from which—for Kostomarov—the veil could simply not be lifted.

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It is much easier, in comparison, to anatomize the conceptual schemata of Kostomarov's reception of Ševčenko. To be sure, to speak of them as motives clearly courts the danger of circularity, for they inhere in the texts and animate the basic method of his discourse; as such they need to be distinguished from motives taken as psychological or ideological causes. Still, these schemata or paradigms are not only present in the texts, but, as we can tell from the overall evidence of Kostomarov's beliefs and writings, they antedate and determine the texts; they constitute the overall matrix by which he organizes his experience, here specifically the reception of Ševčenko, and thus function as a kind of philosophical motivation. They are basically two. The first, to which we have already devoted much attention, is the idea of the *narod,* an idea, as we have seen, to which Kostomarov the historian can subordinate even history (in effect, making it secondary to ethnography), or even Genius. For Kostomarov, the ability of this idea to obscure or distort seems to be directly proportional to its hold on his thought.

"...Костомаров в продолжении двух дней обнаруживал признаки омрачения ума, которое в последнее время значительно умножилось, при том же телесные явления, как-то: взгляд и пульс заставляют опасаться еще большого усиления сумашествия, почему я признаю необходимым для предосторожности поместить его в больницу (для) умалишенных." No. 354, *Kyrylo-Mefodijivs'ke Tovarystvo*, vol. 1, p. 294.

131. One is tempted to find implicit confirmation of the depth of the trauma and its repression in the fact that in his *Autobiography* Kostomarov hardly refers to this episode—but this, again, would be an argument from absence.

The second is the paradigm of poetry. It rests, of course, on a central Romantic value—the apotheosis of poetry as divine speech and of poets, in Shelley's much cited words, as the "unacknowledged legislators of the world."[132] The main difference, however, is that if in the West the poets are indeed unacknowledged (the hyperbole of Shelley's claim may well be activated by poetry's growing marginalization in the face of new middle class values), in the Slavic East, the national poets, as exemplified by Mickiewicz and Ševčenko, become prophets who legislate for their respective societies in all but the literal sense of the word. The cult of Ševčenko, like the cult of Mickiewicz, with its projection of the *sacrum* and its attendant strictures, becomes a despotic extension of such "legislation."[133] In this process a major contributing role is played by such as Kostomarov, who direct their intellectual and institutional authority to furthering the notion of the sovereignty of poetry and as a first step in this direction prostrate themselves before its power.[134] Thus throughout the *Vospominanie o dvux maljarax* (and in various passages in other texts), Kostomarov's discussion of Ševčenko is couched in a language that is not only consistently awestruck in the face of true poetry, but in its reliance on metaphoric diction seems to be as autotelic as poetry itself. (This applies, moreover, not only to his evocation of the Poet, his role, his task, and so on, but also to such attendant matters as the *narod*. Clearly, this discourse does not and is not meant to subordinate itself to dispassionate analysis; as an articulation of higher truths—precisely as in the poetry of Ševčenko—it is resistant, even dismissive, of cold reason.) To be sure, Kostomarov's contemporaries, Kuliš, and later Drahomanov, seek to temper and balance these claims, and the modality itself, but the Romantic faith in the sovereign power of poetry is hardly affected and is revived with redoubled strength by the voluntarists of the early twentieth century. The "*deržava slova*," the belief in the liberating (later: nation-building) power of the Word that is a touchstone in the thinking of such nationalists as Malaniuk or Lypa, does indeed find its fully acknowledged basis in the poetry of Ševčenko, and his words from his *podražanie* of the Eleventh Psalm, "возвеличу/ Малих отих рабів німих!/ Я на сторожі коло їх поставлю слово" serve here as the ideal epigraph to this swelling discourse. But the first critical articulation is Kostomarov's; he is the Paul of this new secular religion.

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132. Cf. his *Defense of Poetry* (1821).

133. For a recent treatment of the cult of Mickiewicz, cf., for example, *Balsam i trucizna. 13 tekstow o Mickiewiczu* (Gdańsk, 1993), especially the essay by Bolesław Oleksowicz "O potrzebie 'Czarnej legendy' Mickiewicza," pp. 145–56.

134. In the case of the Polish *wieszcz*, there was the further expectation of direct prophetic instruction; cf. Józef Bohdan Zaleski's apotheosis of Mickiewicz, cited and discussed in Oleksowicz, ibid., p. 148 and passim.

At its center is the equivalence that is posited between poetry and social, collective reality. The two domains appear to be unmediated and virtually coterminous. In time, the overarching (and in terms of Ukrainian cultural history the overwhelming) effect of this conflation will be the imposition of social involvement and social duty on all of Ukrainian literature. Admittedly, this sense of total engagement will also draw its strength from positivist and utilitarian notions, but (perhaps paradoxically) its roots lie in a transcendent sense of poetry's sublime role and authority.

As for Ševčenko, the further articulation of his role and authority will be animated largely by Kostomarov's vision (and generally speaking the overall reception of Ševčenko will become the lever for interrelating literature and society and the yardstick for measuring the collective role of the writer). The first step is the identification of the man with the poet, or, the perception of the whole Ševčenko phenomenon through the prism of poetry. In the often cited "Vospominanie o dvux maljarax" Kostomarov is at pains to deny that Ševčenko can be perceived as a "citizen": "he remains a poet—in literature and in life."[135] The inversion of Ryleev's well known formula resonates, of course, with Kostomarov's overall construction of Ševčenko's meaning: the idea of "the Poet" serves the double function of depoliticizing, even dehistoricizing Ševčenko (and in practical terms, removing, as Drahomanov was to observe, the spectre of separatism), and at the same time stressing the universality, in effect, the all-Russianness of his appeal. (Thus, it is no surprise that for Kostomarov the reception of Ševčenko, the fact that people immediately recognized him for the poet that he was ("это—великий поэт!") is above all an argument for proving a common, all but undifferentiated all-Russian audience.[136]

The course of history soon demonstrated the hollowness of these notions. But the paradigm itself was not eclipsed: in the emerging and soon dominant canon, "the Poet" came to fill in the whole space of "Ševčenko," and the fact of his non-poetic work and persona, of his prose, his *Diary*, his letters, his painting, and most generally his full social personality was simply left out of the equation. That this, among other things, is detrimental to an adequate

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135. К таким же незрелым суждениям (the comparison is to the idea that Kol'cov can be thought superior to Ševčenko) мы должны отнести и то, которое брошено было недавно на свежую могилу поэта,—суждение признавшее его гражданином, а не поэтом. На деле выходит наоборот: Шевченко гражданином-то никогда не был, и оставался поэтом и в литературе и в жизни. "Vospominanija o dvux maljarax," p. 92.

136. "В сочинениях его так много общерусского, что Великоруссы читают его даже в чрезвычайно плохих стихотворных переводах: как ни искажали его переводчики все-таки не могли испортить до того, чтоб первородная поэзия не высказывалась наружу. *По нашому мнению переводить Шевченка отнюдь не следует*..." "Vospominanija o dvux maljarax," p. 92.

understanding precisely of the *poetry* and the nature of Ševčenko's *poetic persona* was by and large also not perceived.

A basic feature of such totalization was that the poetic word was taken as the literal, ideal truth, the image behind the veil. There is no more dramatic and moving instance of this than the fact that the site of Ševčenko's final burial place was determined on the basis of his poetry. As Kostomarov tells it in his *Autobiography*, immediately after Ševčenko's funeral and burial in St. Petersburg, his countrymen began making efforts to secure permission to rebury him in Ukraine according to the wishes he expressed in an 1845 poem "Jak umru to poxovajte...," generally known as "Zapovit" (The Testament). Kostomarov cites the opening lines of the poem (and these are in fact the only lines of Ševčenko that he does cite in this work) as irrefutable proof that this was indeed the historically, socially obligatory testament.[137] Over the years this pattern was repeated countless times as Ševčenko's poetry was made into a direct and unmediated accompaniment to various forms of social and political action—as slogan and instruction, as exhortation and injunction.

This, then, was the second step—the inevitable but surely unconscious actualization of the idea that poetry, especially a poetry deemed to be prophetic, is coterminous with the collective. In this conjunction, the latter—as the principal cultural value and touchstone—must dominate, and poetry comes to be seen as but the voice of the collective. At the end we have a genuine, and genuinely melancholy paradox: the collective image of one of the most individualistic of poets is totally determined by his social roles and the various functions imposed on him by his cultural resonance. In the course of time, the prophetic and then the cultic images will come to dominate society's perception, and in the long darkness of Soviet rule, this will be further adumbrated by a triumphalist cast. In a manner all too familiar from history, the individual, the textually and historically given author will hardly be perceptible behind the canonic and opportunistic elaborations.

Is Kostomarov in any way responsible for this? No more than any writer or thinker is responsible for the resonance and evolution of his ideas. What is clear, however, is that his perception of the new light that was Ševčenko, his fusion of seeing and not seeing left a lasting afterimage in Ukrainian consciousness.

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137. N. Kostomarov, *Avtobiografia*, p. 537. For his part, Kuliš says virtually the same thing: "Мы хоронили его торжественно, и потом отослали его гроб на днепровския высоты, согласно стихотворному завещанию поэта"; "Vospominanija o Nikolaje Ivanoviče Kostomarove," p. 70. Cf. also *Smert' i poxorony T. G. Ševčenko (Dokumenty i materialy)* (Kyiv, 1961), especially the accounts of P. Lebedyncev and H. Čestaxivs'kyj.

DOCUMENTS

Correspondence between Two Capitals: Simjaon Polacki's Letters to Varlaam Jasyns'kyj (1664–1670)

PETER A. ROLLAND

For Darcia

By now it may be considered almost axiomatic that the instructors and graduates of the Mohyla *Collegium* constituted an informal fraternity which exerted significant influence on the cultural, religious, and political life of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is only natural, therefore, that any insight into the life of this important intellectual stratum of these East Slavic societies would be helpful in understanding the interaction among the component communities, but also bring to life the manners, mores, attitudes, and atmosphere of places and times distant from our own. Such insights will aid in the reevaluation of a past long obscured by time, politics, and ideological considerations of various sorts.[1]

Simjaon Polacki is one of the most successful representatives of the Kyivan *Collegium*. His poetry is found in every anthology of Russian syllabic verse, and his name appears in every history of Russian and Belarusian literature and culture, in most histories of Russia treating the seventeenth century to any degree; and in histories of Russian theology and religious life.[2] Ukrainian-oriented scholarship has treated him almost as a

1. On the Mohyla *Collegium* and the activities of its numerous alumni see Metropolitan Makarii (Bulgakov), *Istorija Kievskoj dukhovnoj akademii* (Kyiv, 1843) V. Askočenskij, *Kiev, s drevnešim ego učiliščem Akademieju*, parts 1–2 (Kyiv, 1854); Aleksander Jabłonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohylańska: Zarys Historyczny na tle rozwoju ogólnego cywilizacji zachodniej na Rusi* (Cracow, 1899–1900); Alexander Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century* (Ottawa, 1974) [=University of Ottawa Ukrainian Studies, no.1]; *The Kiev Mohyla Academy: Commemorating the 350th Anniversary of its Founding (1632), Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8, no. 1/2 (June 1984); Z. I. Xyžnjak, *Kyjevo-mohyljans'ka akademija* (Kyiv, 1988).

2. Since Simjaon was a Belarusian by birth and nationality I will use this Belarusian form of his name. (He signed himself in Polish *S. Sitnianowicz-Piotrowski.*) In Russian the name is rendered Simeon Polockij, and in Ukrainian Symeon Poloc'kyj. The basic biographies are

figure of marginal importance to the development of political, ecclesiastical, and cultural life of seventeenth century Ukraine. Examination of those portions of his correspondence preserved in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents (RGADA) fond 381, MS 390, and the Saltykov-Ščedrin Public Library MS F.XVII. 83/161 reveals epistolary and other ties with a number of significant figures in the Belarusian and especially the Ukrainian church, including Metodij (Maksym) Filimonovyč, Lazar Baranovyč, and Antonij Radyvylovs'kyj. Among the texts preserved in these two compendia are portions of Polacki's correspondence with Varlaam Jasyns'kyj. This corpus stands out due to its comparative numerical prominence and length of duration (nine texts dating from 1664 to 1670), the range of its subject matter and the candor with which the Moscow based writer addressed his Kyivan recipient. As a whole this group of letters provides valuable information concerning the author's biography, his life in Moscow (including the intellectual-political atmosphere), his attitudes regarding his circumstances and the persons and events which touched upon his life during a crucial period of his activities. From these letters, too, emerge the very real differences extant between the two most prominent centers of East Slavic political, cultural and religious life from the mid-1660s to the end of the decade.[3]

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still the following: Iereofej Tatarskyj, *Simeon Polockij ego žizn' i dejatel'nost): Opyt issledovanija iz istorii prosveščenija i vnutrennoi cerkovnoj žizni vo vtoruju polovinu XVII veka* (Moscow, 1886) and L. N. Majkov, "Simeon Polockij," in *Očerki iz istorii russkoj literatury XVII–XVIII vekov* (St. Petersburg, 1889), pp. 1–162. Peter A. Rolland, "Three Early Satires by Simeon Polotsky," *Slavonic and East European Review*, no.1 (January 1985), p. 1-20, n.1; idem, "Dulce est et fumos videre Patriae"—Four Letters by Simiaon Połacki," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 9, no. 1/2 (June 1985):166–81, n. 1 list the critical literature to 1980. L. I. Sazonova, *Poeziia russkogo barokko* (Moscow, 1991) gives virtually all the literature on Polacki's life and works to 1991. The basic source on Jasyns'kyj's life and activities, F. I. Titov, *Zapadnaja Rus' v bor'be za veru i narodnost' v XVII–XVIII vv. (1654–1795) Pervaja polovina toma (1654–1725): Opyt cerkovno-istoričeskogo issledovanija.* 2nd ed. (Kyiv, 1904), was unavailable to me at the time of writing. V. O. Èjngorn, *Očerki iz istorii Malorossii v XVII v.* vol. 1: *Snošenija malorossijskogo duxovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v carstvovanii Alekseja Mixajloviča* (Moscow, 1899), pp. 675–8, 681–3, 687–90, 780–3; K. V. Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie na velikorusskuju cerkovnuju žizn'* (Kazan, 1914; reprinted 1968), pp. 218–9, 237–43, 245–9, 355–6, 359–61, 372–4; and Jabłonowski, pp.152–3, 159–60 provided information on Jasyns'kyj's activities in this period.

3. RGADA fond 381, MS 390 and its contents seem to have been first discussed by S. Golubev in "Otzyv o sočinenii V. O. Èjngorna, *Očerki iz istorii Malorossii v XVII v. I. Snošenija malorossijskogo duxovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v carstvovanii Alekseja Mixajloviča* (Moscow, 1899)," *Zapiski Akademii nauk po Istoriko-filologičeskomu otdelelniju* 6, no. 2 (1902), 87–137, wherein he notes Polacki's correspondence with Jasyns'kyj and gives excerpts in Russian translation. MS F.XVII 83/161 was unknown to Polacki's biographers. Xarlampovič, p. 424 and passim seems to have been the first to make

Perhaps the most important biographical information provided by these letters relates to the time and initial impetus for Polacki's departure from his native Polack for Moscow—a question addressed by Majkov, Tatarskij and others with no firm resolution but surrounded with much speculation.[4] Polacki's first letter to Jasyns'kyj (Letter 4 in the Appendix) which can be dated to spring, 1664, gives answers to these and other related questions as well. He writes in part:

> ...as to myself [I can state] that I arrived in Moscow on the eve of Great Lent for the effects of the late Father Archimandrite Ihnat Jevlevič, which already having received, I await a dry road and a suitable occasion for a peaceful return—albeit to smoldering ruins, for all of Połack has burned down; still to the paternal hearth where a straw pillow is more delightful than one of swan's down as here (fol. 108^{r-v}).

Cheesefare Sunday in 1664 occurred on February 20 (O.S.), hence, Polacki could have arrived in Moscow around this date. The reason for his journey is also clearly stated and much more prosaic than the usual suppositions advanced for his move: an invitation from the tsar, fear of persecution by the Poles, devotion to Moscow, etc.[5] The passage also indicates he intended to return home, even to a devastated one, which then seemed preferable to remaining in a more luxurious Moscow. Polacki's next sentence contains acerbic reflections on this prospect:

> Perhaps some would spin the yarn that here Amalthea distributes ambrosias from her heavenly horn, but we can avail ourselves of it as surely as dogs of Egypt [drink] the waters of the Nile, or bees [eat] a honeycomb. The queen bee even here is without a sting, but the masses are more irritating than wasps toward their opponents (fol.108^{v}).

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use of it, and that abundantly. Since then, other scholars have referred to these MSS but, with the exception of the present author (n. 1,6) none published full texts of Simjaon's correspondence. The full text of each letter appears in the Apppendix in numbered order 1–9. Initial reference in the body of the article will be by number with pagination/foliation in the MS given with each translated quotation. All translations are my own.

4. Tatarskij, pp. 62–63; Majkov, pp. 9–10.

5. Compare the opinions expressed in Jabłonowski, p. 154, Dmitrij Čiževs'kyj, *History of Russian Literature* (The Hague, 1971), p. 346; V. V. Barysenka et al., eds., *Historyja belaruskaj dakastryčnickaj litaratury u dvux tamax*, vol. 1, *Z staražytnyx časoŭ da kanca XVIII st.* (Minsk, 1968), pp. 363–64; Dm. Žukov and L. Puškarev, *Russkie pisateli XVII veka* (Moscow, 1972), p. 233; A. N. Robinson, *Bor'ba idej v russkoj literature XVII veka* (Moscow, 1974), p. 37.

It is evident from this passage that Polacki's exposure to Moscow left him with less than a positive attitude. While we know that he eventually remained in the city and in time seems to have become a defender of "The Orthodox Monocrat " (as he put it in another letter), and while in his correspondence with Philotheos Utčycki and others in Belarus, Simjaon praised his Muscovite refuge, his comments to Lazar Baranovyč and in these letters to Varlaam Jasyns'kyj indicate that Polacki's critical attitude to Moscow and at least some of its inhabitants did not pass with time.[6] For example, in his letter dated "Anno 1666, 24" (Letter 7 in the Appendix), congratulating Jasyns'kyj on his election to the rectorship of the Mohyla *Collegium,* Polacki writes:

> Your Honor is [indeed] fortunate to be living among such [persons as those associated with the *Collegium*] with whom you can always consume a dish of wisdom by a conversation at a meal. I, poor unfortunate, as in a dense wood do dwell among a multitude of people whom I see as walking trees. Thus the Porphyrian tree *(arborem porphirianum)* not only can I not see, but not even hear about. Moreover, being homesick, I implore consolation from your Reverence; do deign to cheer me up at least by writing me often, and I out of gratitude and affection oblige myself to compensate you by my unworthy prayers, along with which I assiduously commend myself to your unchanging friendship and fraternal affection (fol. 109^{v}).,

When we consider that Polacki's first negative opinions were written by a person "killing time" in a foreign capital, without occupation or, more importantly, without a maecenas or patron and certainly without a circle of like-minded associates, his bitterness and unhappiness are understandable, perhaps even to be expected. By 1666, on the other hand, Polacki had taught Latin to the clerks of the Privy Chancellery, had found patrons in the persons of the Metropolitan of Gaza, Paisios Ligarides, and the boyars Fedor Rtiščev and Bogdan Xitrovo, along with others at court; he had found favor with Patriarch Ioasaf and was involved in "the Nikon affair"; in short, he was neither friendless nor without position or occupation. His continued negative

6. See Rolland, "Dulce," p. 174 (n. 1, supra) for Polacki's expressions of loyalty to Moscow and idem, "Nieskoro" prawi "monsztuk do tych trąb otrzymacie." On Lazar Baranovyč's *Трубы словесъ проповѣдныхъ* and their non-publication in Moscow, *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 17, nos. 1–2 (Summer–Winter 1992), 205–216 (henceforth "Nieskoro") for Simjaon's hints at a more complex state of affairs. Polacki used the phrase "Orthodox Monocrat" in his letter of 1667 to Lazar Baranovyč, MS F.XVII. 83/161, pp. 201–202, and praised his Muscovite refuge in a letter to F. Utčycki dated January 22, 1669, MS F.XVII.83/161 p. 82. For the full text see my "*Ad patrios jednak Lares* Simjaon Polacki's letters to Philotheos Utčickij and Gedeon Dronič," forthcoming in *Canadian Slavonic Papers*. Polacki's text, dated 1664, casts doubt on the year 1667 commonly considered the year of Jevlevič's demise.

opinion of his milieu is one that casts a serious shadow on his more sanguine or positive pronouncements regarding his Muscovite refuge.

Two other comments in the examined correspondence with Jasynsʹkyj testify to other difficult circumstances experienced by Polacki in Moscow. The first is found in a letter dated 1669 (Letter 9 in the Appendix, written most probably in November) and relates to Polacki's authorship of the anti-Old Believer tract *The Rod of Governance (Žezl pravlěnija)*. To judge from Simjaon's text, Jasynsʹkyj in a previous letter had congratulated Polacki upon this tract, undertaken at the express request of the 1666 Church Council. As we know, the work appeared without the author's name. Polacki's comments reveal both his authorship and the reason his name did not appear on the volume:

> Your Reverence mentions the *Rod* calling it my work. I do not disown it entirely, not do I acknowledge it *in toto,* namely in relation to the commentary and not to the text. On this iron [rod] there are flaws which the flames of purgatory were not able to purge due to the resistance of the obdurate. I, therefore, withheld my name, for what was written was not what was wanted or intended, which is easily observable to the reader, especially to our *literati.* The wise will overlook this, for they easily will perceive that it had to be thus, especially since these sentiments still are tolerated by the Eastern Church. I've asked about the August *Menaeum*, but haven't gotten it yet. God grant that I get it (p. 182).

Although Polacki was commissioned to write the tract by the Church Council of 1666, we know that factions of the Muscovite clergy doubted the Orthodoxy of his theological views and those of many Belarusian and Ukrainian clergymen.[7] The clash of opinions reflected in Polacki's comments must have been significant indeed for him to remove his name from so important a work as *The Rod of Governance.*

A final note of spiritual discomfort is found in Polacki's short note to Jasynsʹkyj of May 20, 1670 (Letter 8 in the Appendix), wherein he writes cryptically:

> I myself, thanks to the grace of the Most High and your Reverence's holy prayers, am healthy in body, but exceedingly ill in spirit. I ask Your Reverence's intercession to the Heavenly Physician and His Most Holy Mother (p. 182).

After discussing various business matters and listing gifts sent to the Kyiv Caves Monastery and to Jasynsʹkyj, Polacki closes his letter with a second

7. For a negative opinion on Polacki's education, theology and writings see *Osten: Pamiatnik russkoj duxovnoj pis'mennnosti XVII veka* (Kazan',1865), pp. 70–74, 133–44.

request for his correspondent's "holy prayers," a plea echoed by a postscript tinged with a note of urgency:

> I humbly send my respects to his Reverence, the Father Archimandrite of the Caves Monastery [Innokentyj Gizel'], and also the Reverend Father Hegumens of the St.Cyril [Meletij Dzyk], of the Vydubyc'kyj [Teodosij Uhlyc'kyj] and of the Mežyhirs'kyj Monasteries [Teodosij Baskovs'kyj]; to His Reverence, the Vicar (*Namiesnik*) of the Caves Monastery [Antonij Radyvylov'skyj] , and all my fellow students and acquaintances. I pray for all of them and their prayers in turn earnestly, earnestly do request (p. 182).[8]

It is virtually impossible at the present time to ascertain the cause of Polacki's spiritual dis-ease. His emotionally tinged and thrice repeated requests for prayers from not just Jasyns'kyj but his entire circle of Kyivan friends and acquaintances give an indication of the seriousness of his state of mind. The gifts sent the monastery (ten *arshyns* of black satin for vestments, presumably for those worn at services for the dead, a bone-decorated staff and also dried sturgeon and salmon for Jasyns'kyj) certainly underscore the importance he attached to his request, but the final solution to the tantalizing riddle posed by this letter must await further investigation.

Questions of intellectual life, including publishing and retailing of works by Kyivan scholars, requests for financial assistance, and the exchange of gifts and errands, and the references to numerous friends and acquaintances found in these letters, give witness to the lively interchange between Polacki and his Kyivan circle. They reveal just how broad and influential his network really was, and just how those Kyivan clerics made use of Polacki as intermediary or representative in the Tsar's capital.

For example, in Letters 1 and 6 Polacki explains his inability and that of Paisios Ligarides to aid in Kyivan religious polemics with the Roman Catholic theologian Mikołaj Cichowski (Nicholaus Cichovius). Cichowski's work *Tribunal ss. Patrum Orientalium et Occidentalium* (1658) strove to demonstrate on the basis of selections from the Greek fathers the identical nature of Western and Eastern teaching on the procession of the Holy Spirit (the so-called *filioque* controversy), one of the cornerstones of dispute between Rome and Byzantium. The Polish theologian had debated this issue publicly in Kyiv with Innokentyj Gizel' in 1656, and his tract ultimately stemmed from this clash. (Gizel' was Rector of the Mohyla Collegium at the time, and Jasyns'kyj could have been among the witnesses to this event. Hence not only the honor of Orthodoxy, but of Kyivan learning and their

8. Identification of the various clergy mentioned was made on the basis of Pavel Stroev, *Spiski ierarxov i nastojatelej monastyrej rossijskija cerkvi* (St. Petersburg, 1877, reprint, 1990), cols. 11–32, and Xarlampovič, passim.

alma mater was at stake.) The affair obviously perturbed the Kyivans to such a degree that Jasyns'kyj had sent Polacki a copy of Cichowski's work requesting that either he or Ligarides undertake a refutation. Both refused the task. Polacki said that "a David is needed for such a Goliath" and that he (Polacki) was not up to the challenge (Polacki did not know Greek). Ligarides demurred, saying, according to Polacki, that his own traveling library was not sufficient to the task and that he (Ligarides) had no knowledge of the tsar's library.[9]

In addition to soliciting his help in writing books for his Kyivan confrères, these letters to Jasyn'skyj reveal that Polacki's friends and acquaintances sought his aid in getting Kyivan works published in Moscow and even in selling Kyivan publications there. A prime example of the former activity is the unsuccessful attempt at getting Baranovyč's *Trumpets of the Homiletic Word (Truby sloves' propovědnyx")* published in Moscow, a project upon which Polacki expended much time and energy and engendered no small amount of frustration.[10] Simjaon makes reference to his efforts in the November, 1669 letter (Letter 9 in the Appendix) discussed above in relation to the *Rod of Governance:*

> I have heard that the Muses of His Grace the Archbishop amuse [*uweselają*] Your Reverence, and me the *Trumpets.* Pegasus probably will carry the Muses beyond the Kyivan Helikon sooner than the Horseman [*Jeździec*] brings forth the *Trumpets,* for the *opus* is still not in the works here, but in my sweat and scurrying around [*...bo tu jeszcze opus nie w robocie, tylko w moim pocie i kłopocie*](pp. 181–82).

These comments well reflect Polacki's frustration in attempting to satisfy the desires of his former teacher and protector who seems to have been obsessively demanding, if not totally insensitive to the realities of the situation in Moscow and the feelings of others. These feelings Polacki could express to his schoolmate but not to the venerable prelate himself. Jasyns'kyj probably understood these sentiments very well and most likely shared them.

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9. One text, whose *incipit* reads "Otrzymawszy literalną visitę... (fol. 105^v–106^r), is dated *A^o 1665.* The Second text (fol. 108^v–109^r), whose *incipit* reads "Po otrzymaniu..." is not dated. It follows a letter to Antonij Radyvylovs'kyj dated "A^o 1667, Martii 10," and precedes one to the same addressee dated "A^o 1666 24." In his *intitulatio,* Polacki calls Jasyns'kyj "*Ojcze Rectorze.*" Since Jasyns'kyj was named rector of the Mohyla Collegium in the latter part of 1665, this text could date from late 1665 or early 1666. On Cichowski, his tract, and his Kievan disputes see Jabłonowski, pp. 109, 126, and 146. Xarlampovič, p. 440 n. 4 quotes from a letter (19/IX/1664) of Ligarides to Baranovyč, in which Paisios writes that Patriarch Nikon had made the tsar's library "a closed garden and a sealed well" and placed all the manuscripts brought to Moscow from Athos in a closed collection as well.

10. On this matter see Rolland, "Nieskoro," n. 6.

As Simjaon's letter indicates, his correspondent was involved in the publication of Baranovyč's verse, most probably *Apollo's Lute (Lutnia Apollinowa)* a task which was probably even more onerous and vexatious owing to the proximity of the importunate Archbishop of Chernihiv to Jasyns'ky and to the Kyivan Caves Monastery printing house that at this time was in Jasyns'kyj's charge.[11]

Evidence of the difficulties Polacki encountered in selling his Kyivan colleagues' works in Moscow, caused by the differences between Muscovite conditions and Kyivan expectations, is found in his reply to Jasyns'kyj of May 20, 1670 (Letter 8 in the Appendix). Referring to problems encountered in selling I. Galjatov'skyj's *Key to Comprehension (Ključ razuměnija,* 1663) in Moscow, Polacki writes:

> And otherwise I must indicate that Your Reverence's confrères, upon departing from Moscow, left me some *Keys* which they could not get rid of and the price of which they indicated to me as three talers a copy. If I succeed in selling them I'll gladly send the money, but they apparently are too expensive, for books which come out of the local printing houses are cheap here. So deign, Your Reverence, to write me about lowering the price (p. 48).

What the end result of this exchange was, we do not know, but we do know that requests for other forms of aid—particularly of a pecuniary nature—often met with refusal. Polacki's patrons in Moscow (Fedor Rtiščev, for example), either exasperated by the numerous requests from Ukrainian and Belarusian clergy and churchly institutions, or simply financially strapped by such requests, often compelled him to write remarks such as those in his letter to Jasyns'kyj from spring (March–June) 1666 (Letter 3 in the Appendix). Replying to the latter's attempts to obtain funds for the Mohyla *Collegium,* which had been devastated by the upheavals of the mid-1660s, Polacki wrote:[12]

> ...And as for the want of victuals which burdens the rector's staff (*virga*) entrusted you by God and not consciously gained (as is well known to everyone) by ambition. I pray Christ the Lord who with five loaves satisfied five thousand

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11. On the printing of *Apollonowa Lutnia* under Jasyns'kyj's editorship, and Baranovyč's efforts to speed up the process, see N. F. Sumcov, *K istorii južnorusskoj literatury semnadcatogo stoletija, vypusk I. Lazar' Baranovič* (Xarkiv, 1885), pp. 112–13.

12. Xarlampovič, pp. 348–52 provides a survey of almseekers who came to Moscow during the period in question, and on pp. 373–74 discusses Jasyns'kyj's efforts at obtaining a subsidy for the Collegium and the Theophany Confraternity Monastery. Èjngorn does likewise on pp. 316, 323, and 675–76. Robert Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors: The Boyar Elite in Russia 1613–1689* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), pp. 160–61 discusses briefly the career of F. M. Rtiščev.

people and rained down manna in the desert, that he deign to provide for the holy place by his Divine Providence and generosity and thereby lighten the burden placed on your shoulders. For here at present alms cannot be obtained for a third party, unless the very presence of Your Reverence will be, God grant, so fortunate that you will not be disappointed by promises. And our counsel carries little weight, for no one likes the person who constantly clamors "Give me, give me!" His Excellency Lord Rtiščev, our refuge, has distanced himself greatly from us, having become the tutor (*dziaduszka*) to His Highness, the Tsarevič. I barely have the opportunity to see His Honor more than a few times a year, so that it was not possible for me to be of service to either the holy places or to Your Reverence (fols. 106^{v}–107^{r}).

Jasynskyj's was not the only request for which Polacki had to convey a refusal, expressed in the very same terms. Among the convoy of letters found with this letter to Jasynskyj there is one addressed to Philotheos Utčycki, hegumen of the Polack Theophany Confraternity Monastery, Polacki's monastic home. In this text dated January 22, 1669 he turns aside a request for alms in the very same terms, stressing that the tumultuous political upheavals of the *Ruina* have engendered among Polacki's court acquaintances a negative attitude toward Orthodox almseekers from the Commonwealth, their requests, and their intermediaries. Simjaon concludes his comments on this score by saying pithily:

In short, Ukraine's inconstancy has deprived us of the last remnants of their favor [In the original: "Zgoła ukrainny Niestatek (sic) odwrócił od nas ich łaski ostatek"] (p. 82).

The numerous requests for financial and other aid by Ukrainian and Belarusian ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical foundations have been amply documented. Polacki's role as intermediary between such institutions and persons and the tsar's court and court circles has been mentioned. The above-quoted replies illustrate the nature of his role in negotiations of this kind, their impact on his own connections in the Russian capital , and the political climate in the highest circles of Muscovite society vis-à-vis both the petitions and the petitioners.

Our discussion has centered around some of the major concerns raised in the corpus of texts presented to the reader in the Appendix to this brief introduction, but by no means has exhausted their thematics. Of human interest are the lists of gifts exchanged, and the circumstances and the intermediaries by which exchanges are effected as well as the petty "housekeeping details" regarding errands and favors undertaken (e.g., money to be sent for books sold in Moscow, money sent in exchange for mohair cloth sent to Polacki from Kyiv), and last but not least, the long list of those

mentioned as either having been in Moscow or coming to Moscow, or merely as friends or acquaintances to whom greetings should be conveyed. Taken together, these nine letters of Simjaon Polacki to Varlaam Jasyns'kyj present an interesting and lively picture of the ties binding two former schoolmates at the Mohyla Collegium, and illuminate more clearly Polacki's position in the network of the many illustrious personages connected with this institution. They also provide us with evidence and information for reevaluating traditional views and interpretations of the life and activities not just of Polacki, but all those with whom he came into contact and with whom he interacted in both Ukraine and Muscovy.

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APPENDIX

Abbreviations Found in the Texts

A°	Anno
Archieppowi	Archiepiskopowi
Jaśnie Przewiele.	Jaśnie Przewielebny
J(E)N.	Jeromonach Niedostojny
JE° Mści	Jego Miłość
m.p.	Manu propria
Mści	Miłości
O.	Ojciec
Przewieleb. Je. Mść	Przewielebna Jego Miłość
Przewieleb.	Przewielebność
Przewieleb.T.	Przewielebność Twoja
Przewieleb.W.	Przewielebność Wasza
S.P.S.	Symeon Piotrowski-Sitnianowicz

Table 1 Texts as they appear in the source ms.

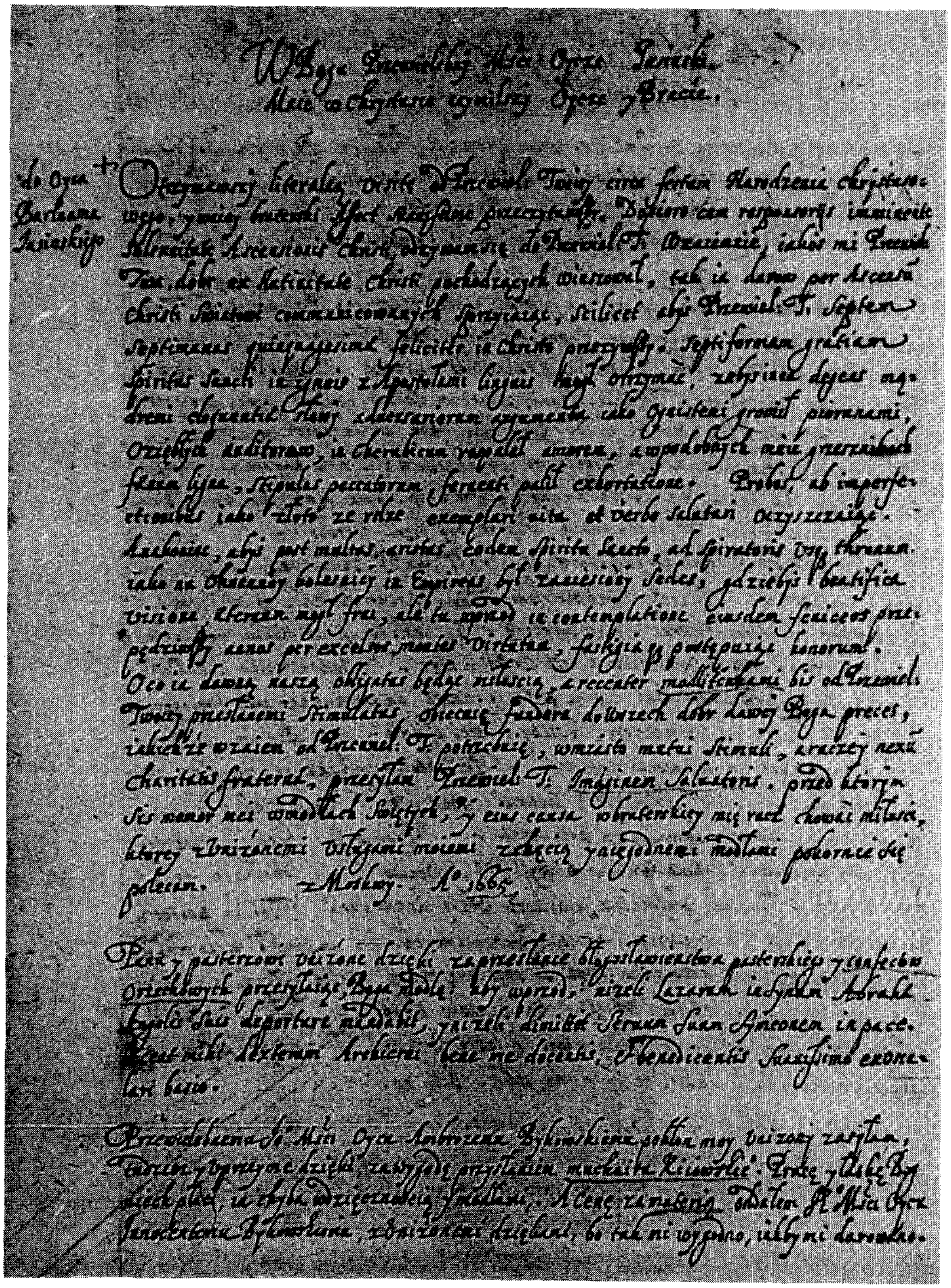
RGADA, fond 381	fol. no.	Date
Letter 1	105, v	1665, before 15/IV/1666
Letter 2	105, v.–106, r.	1666, March–June
Letter 3	106, v.	1666, March–June
Letter 4	107, r.	1664, after Feb. 20
Letter 5	107, v.–108, r.	1664 April–May
Letter 6	108,v.–109, r.	1666
Letter 7	109, v.–110, r.	1666 February 24 (?)

Saltykov-Ščedrin Library MS F.XVII.83/161

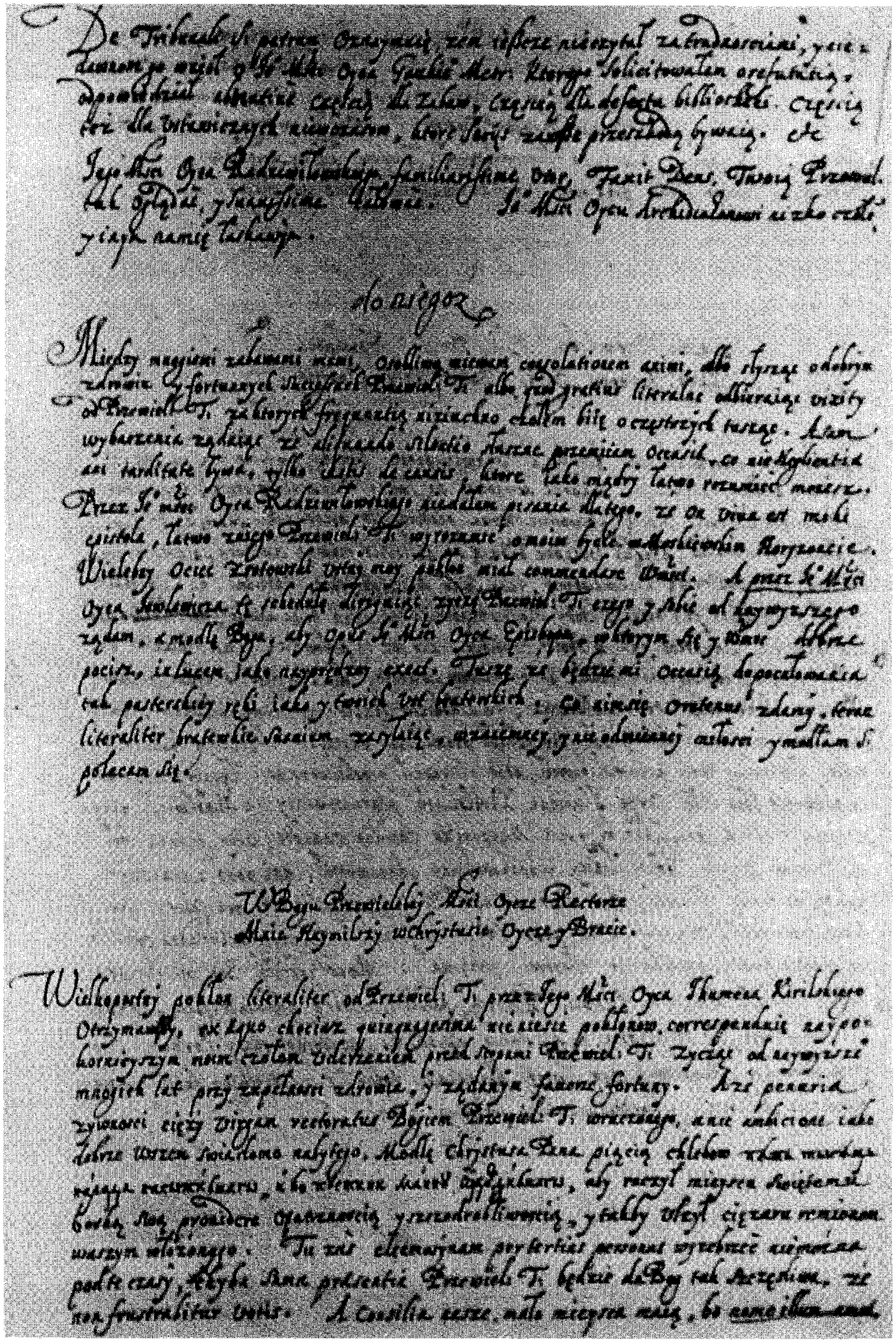
Letter 8	p. 48	1670, May 20
Letter 9	p. 181	1669, November

Table 2. Tentative Chronological Order of Texts:

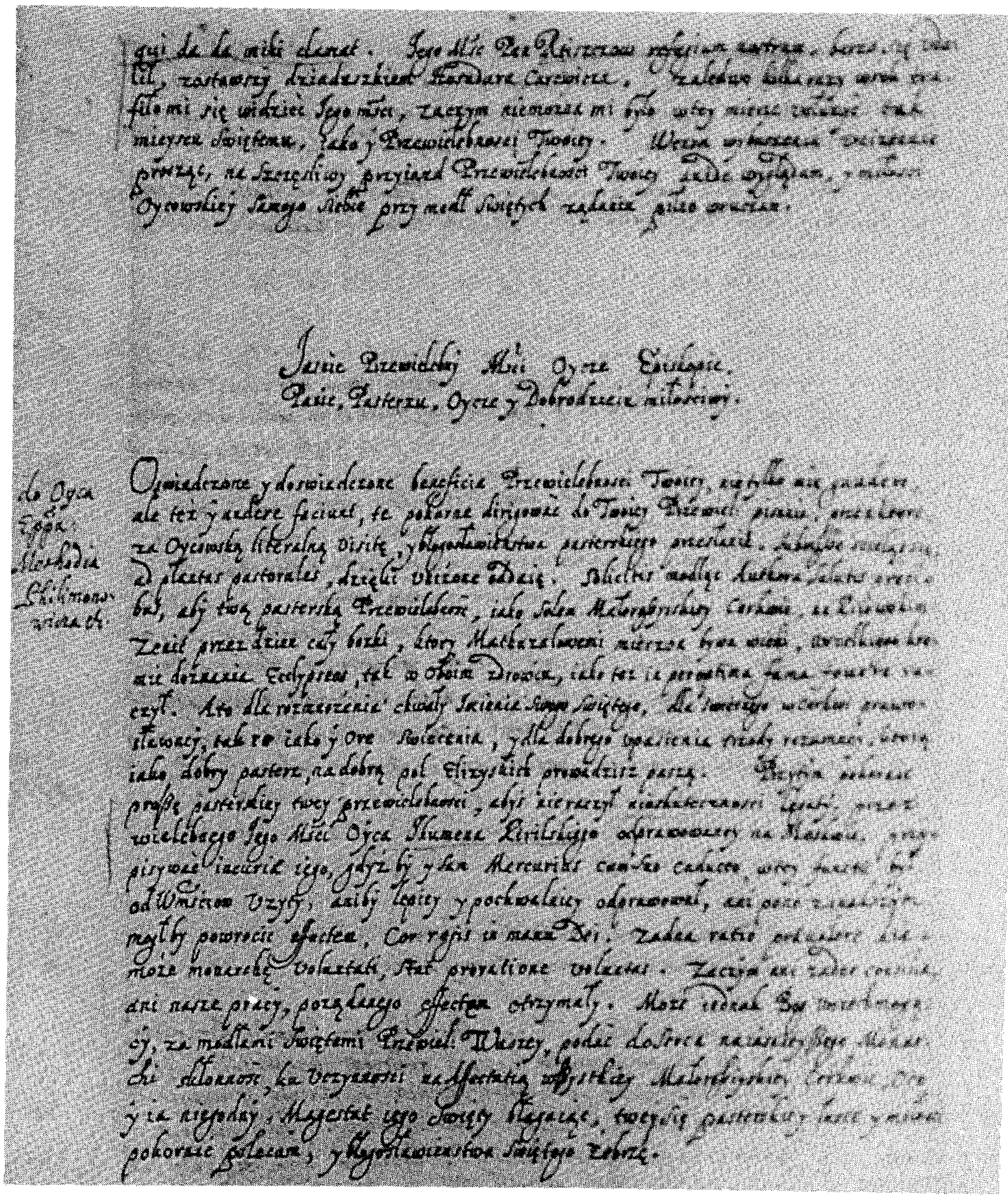
Letter 4	1664	After Feb. 20
Letter 5	1664	After Feb. 20
Letter 1	1665	before 15/IV/1666
Letter 7	1666	February 24 (?)
Letter 6	1666	
Letter 2	1666	March–June
Letter 3	1666	March–June
Letter 9	1669	November
Letter 8	1670	May 20



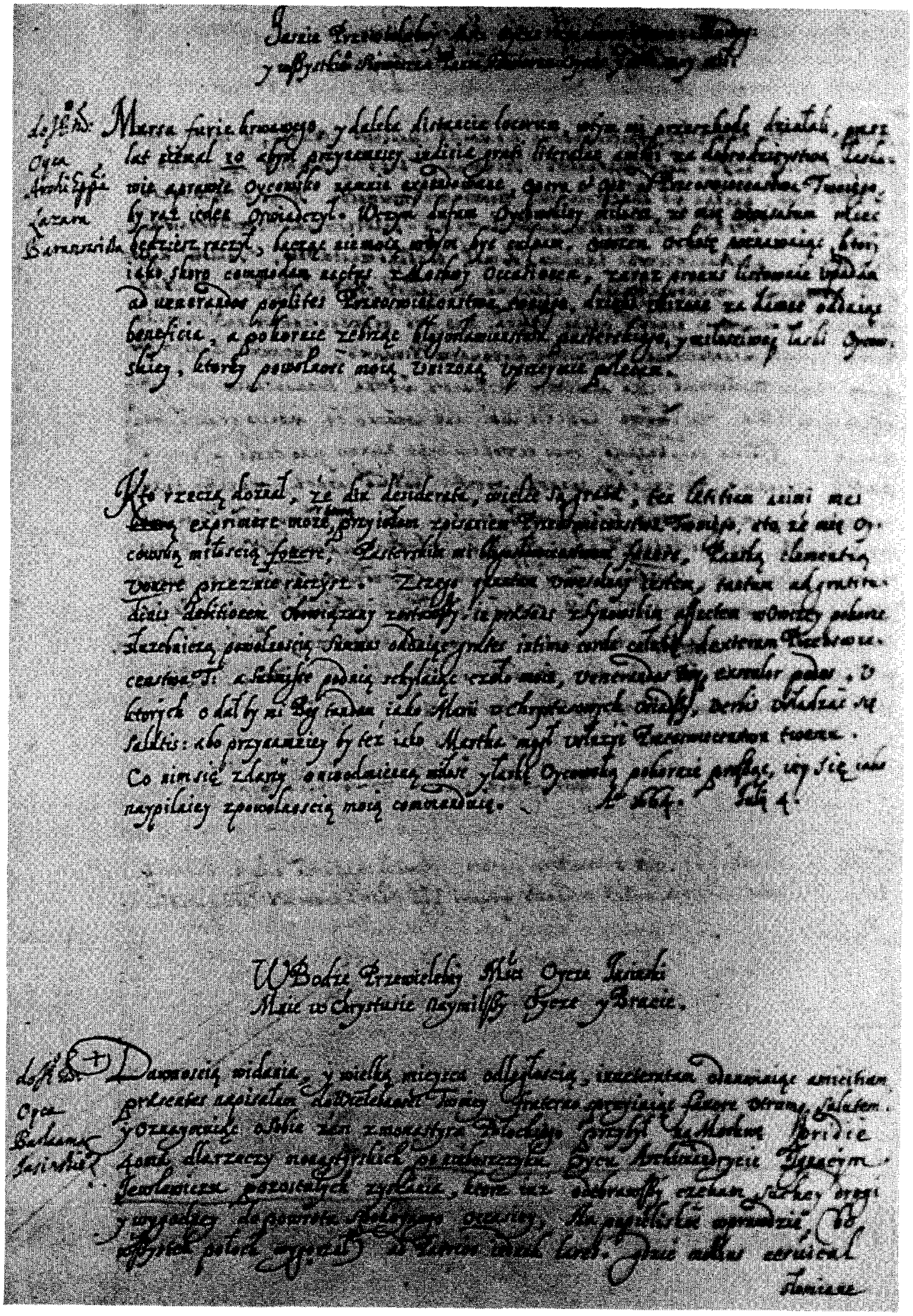
Letter 1 (beginning)



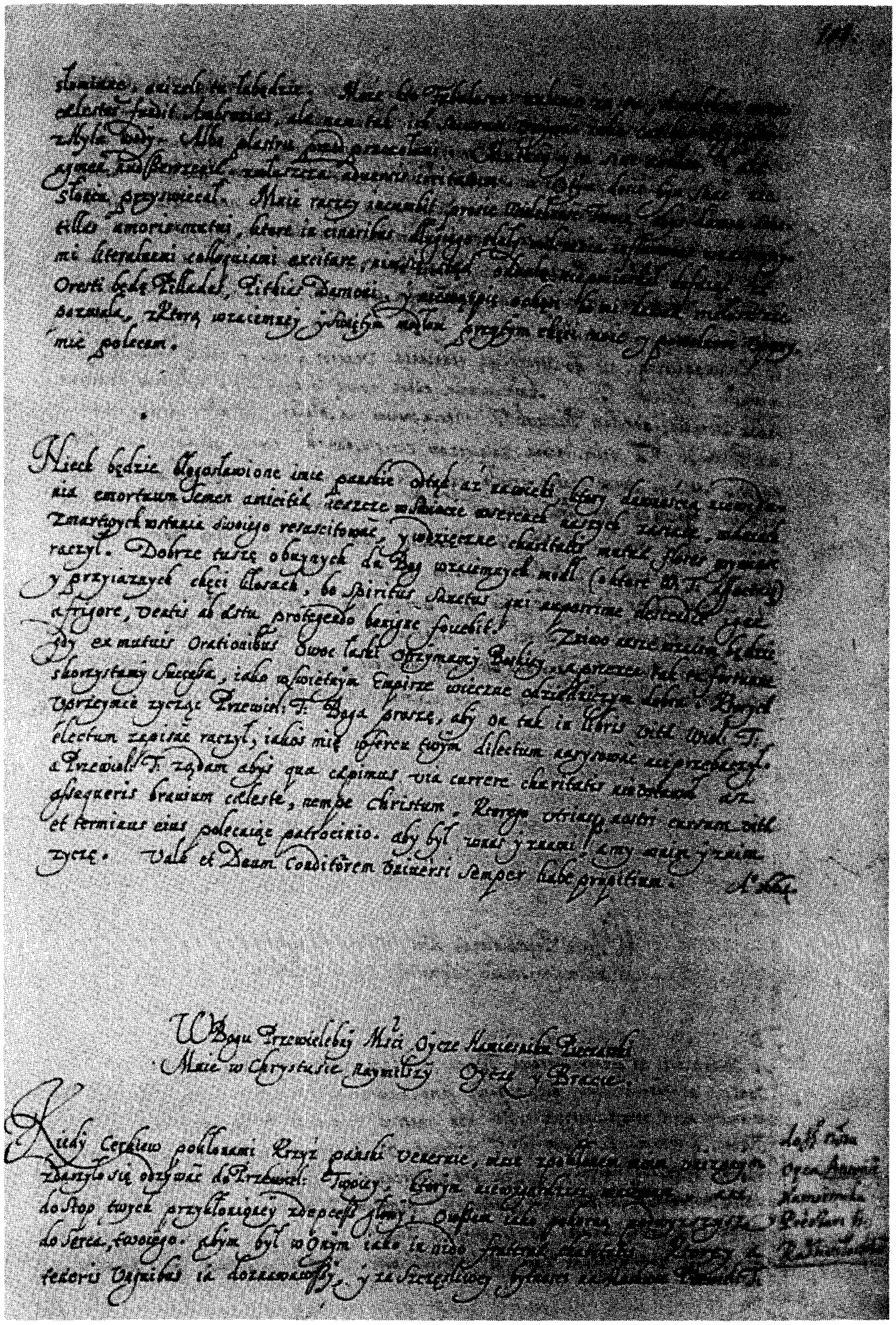
Letter 1 (conclusion), Letter 2, Letter 3 (beginning)



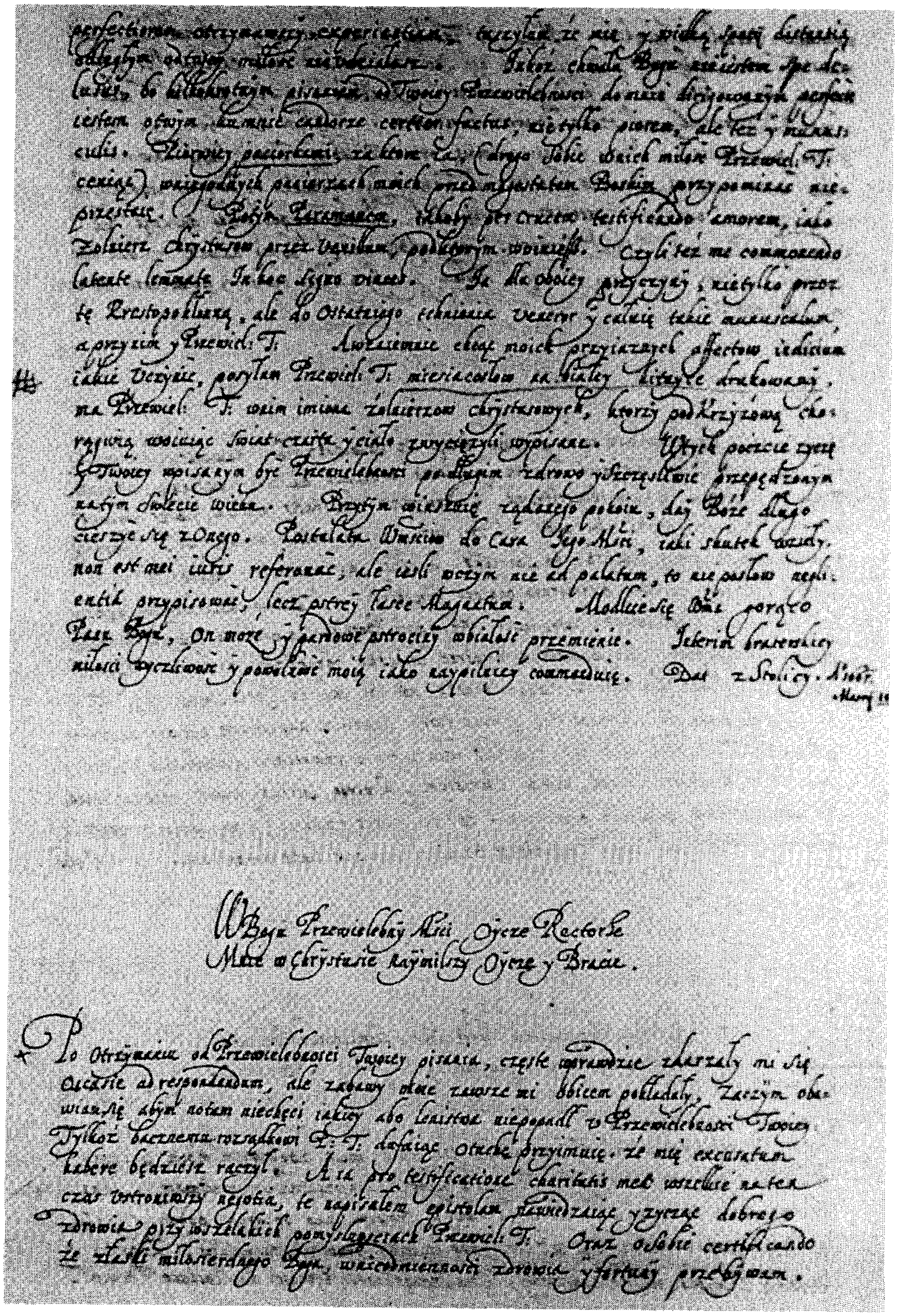
Top: Letter 3 (conclusion)



Bottom: Letter 4 (beginning)



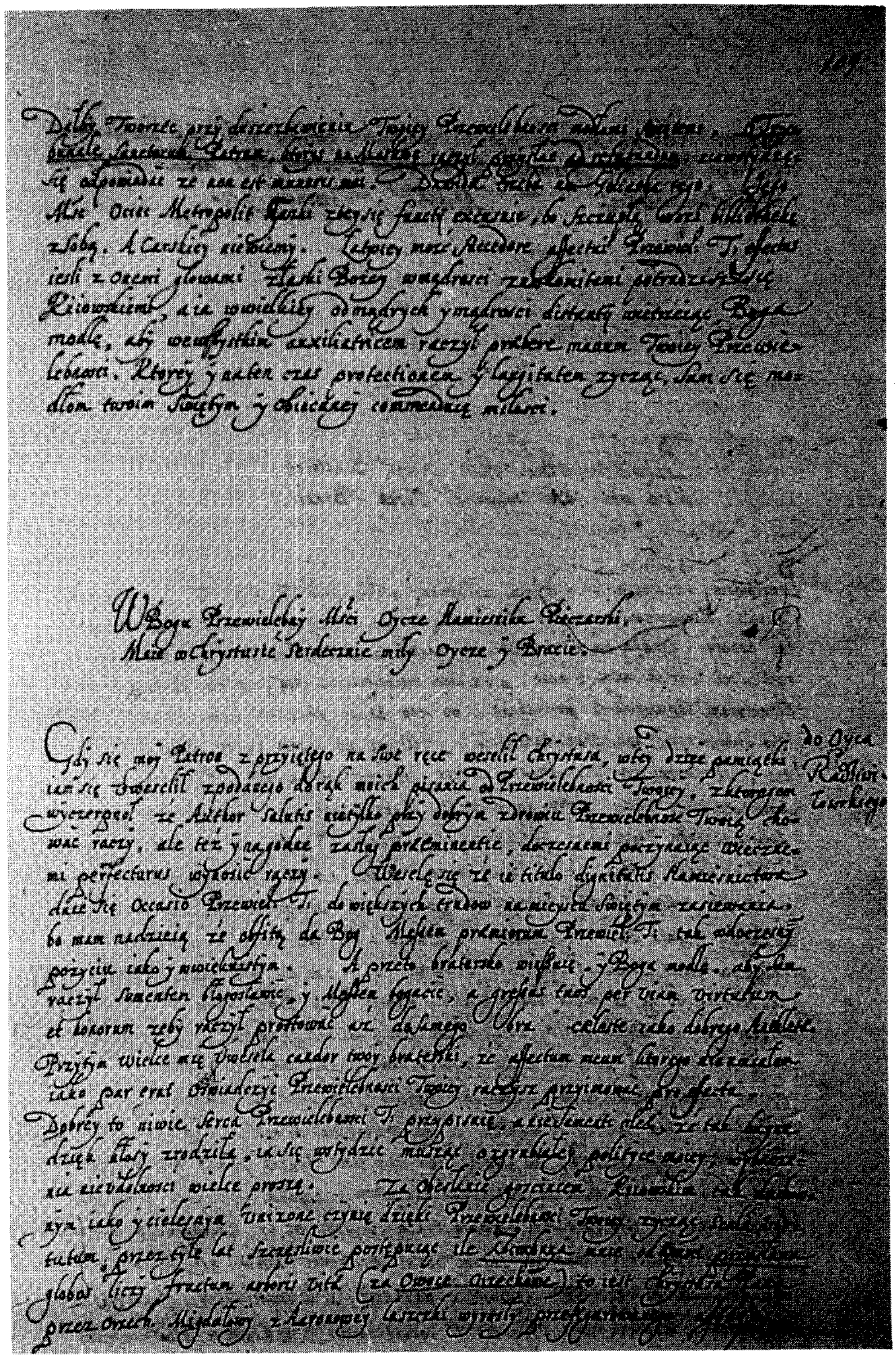
Letter 4 (conclusion), Letter 5


perfectionem otrzymamy experientiam, [illegible] że mię y wielka spacij distantia
odległym [illegible] [illegible] nie zapominam. Jakoż chwała Bogu [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible], do [illegible] pisaniu w Twoiey Przewielebności do mnie [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] certior factus, nie tylko piórem, ale też y manu
culis. Ziarnowy paciorkami, za które [illegible] sobie wielk miłość Przewiel: T.
cenię, w [illegible] pacierzach moich przed Majestatem Boskim przypominać nie
przestaię. [illegible] Paramentem, [illegible] per [illegible] testificando amorem, iako
Żołnierz Chrystusow przez [illegible], [illegible] woiuiesz. Czyli też me commorando
latente [illegible] In hoc signo vinces. [illegible] obojey [illegible], nietylko przez
tę Krzyżopokłonną, ale do ostatniego [illegible] [illegible] y całe [illegible] [illegible]
a przyim y Przewiel: T. Awszakże chcąc moich przyiaznych affectow indicium
iakie uczynić, posyłam Przewiel: T. mieciacosłow na białey kitayce drukowany.
na Przewiel: T. wsim imiona żołnierzow chrystusowych, ktorzy pod krzyżową cho-
rągwią woiuiąc świat, czarta y ciało zwyciężyli wypisane. Wszytek poczet tych
y Twoiey wpisanym być Przewielebności podługim zdrowo y szczęśliwie przepędzonym
na tym świecie wieku. Przytym [illegible] [illegible] pokoiu, daj Boże długo
cieszyć się z onego. Posełkiem [illegible] do Cara Jego Mći, iaki skutek [illegible],
non est mei iuris referendi, ale iesli w czym nie [illegible], to nie posłow negli-
entia przypisować, lecz [illegible] [illegible] Majestatu. Modlicie się [illegible] [illegible]
Pana Boga, on może y serdce [illegible] [illegible] przemienić. Jeżeli braterskiey
miłości wyczliwość y powolność moię iako naypilniey commenduię. Dat z Stolicy. [illegible]
Marcy [illegible]

W Bogu Przewielebny Mći Oycze Rectorze
Mâ w Chrystusie naymilszy Oycze y Bracie.

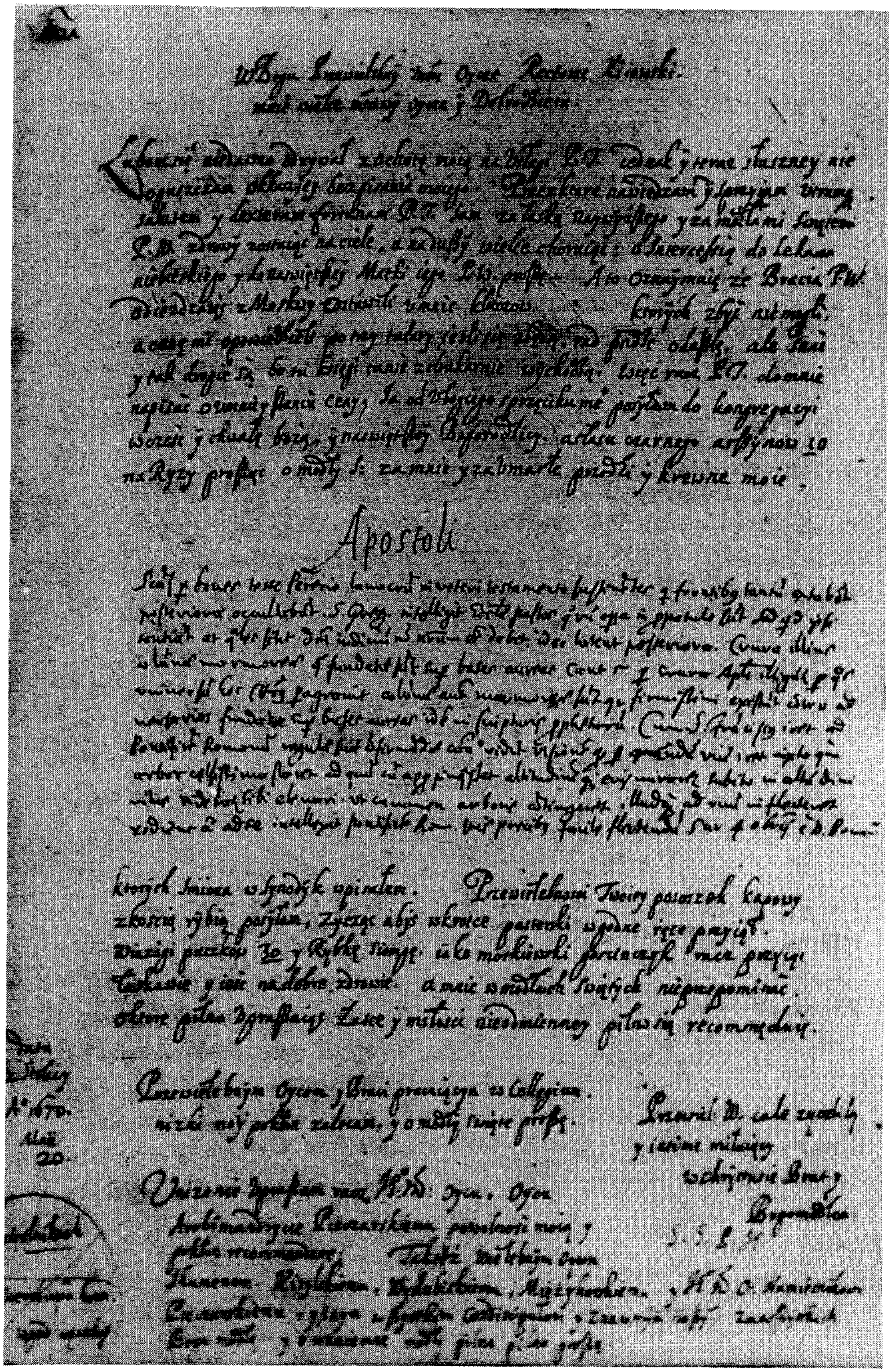
Po otrzymaniu od Przewielebności Twoiey pisania, częste sprawy zachodziły mi się
ocząsić ad respondendum, ale zabawy moie zaworze mi [illegible] [illegible], zaczym obe-
wiam się abym notam niechęci iakiey abo leniwoz niepodał u Przewielebności Twoiey.
Tylko z baczenia rozsądkowi P. T. dufaiąc otuchę przyimuię, że mię excusatum
habere będzieże raczył. A ia pro testificatione charitatis meae wszelkie na ten
czas [illegible] negotia, te napisałem epistolam [illegible] y życząc dobrego
zdrowia przy wszelakich pomyślnościach Przewiel: T. Oraz o sobie certificando
że z łaski miłosiernego Boga, w [illegible] zdrowia y fortuny przebywam.

Bottom: Letter 6 (beginning)

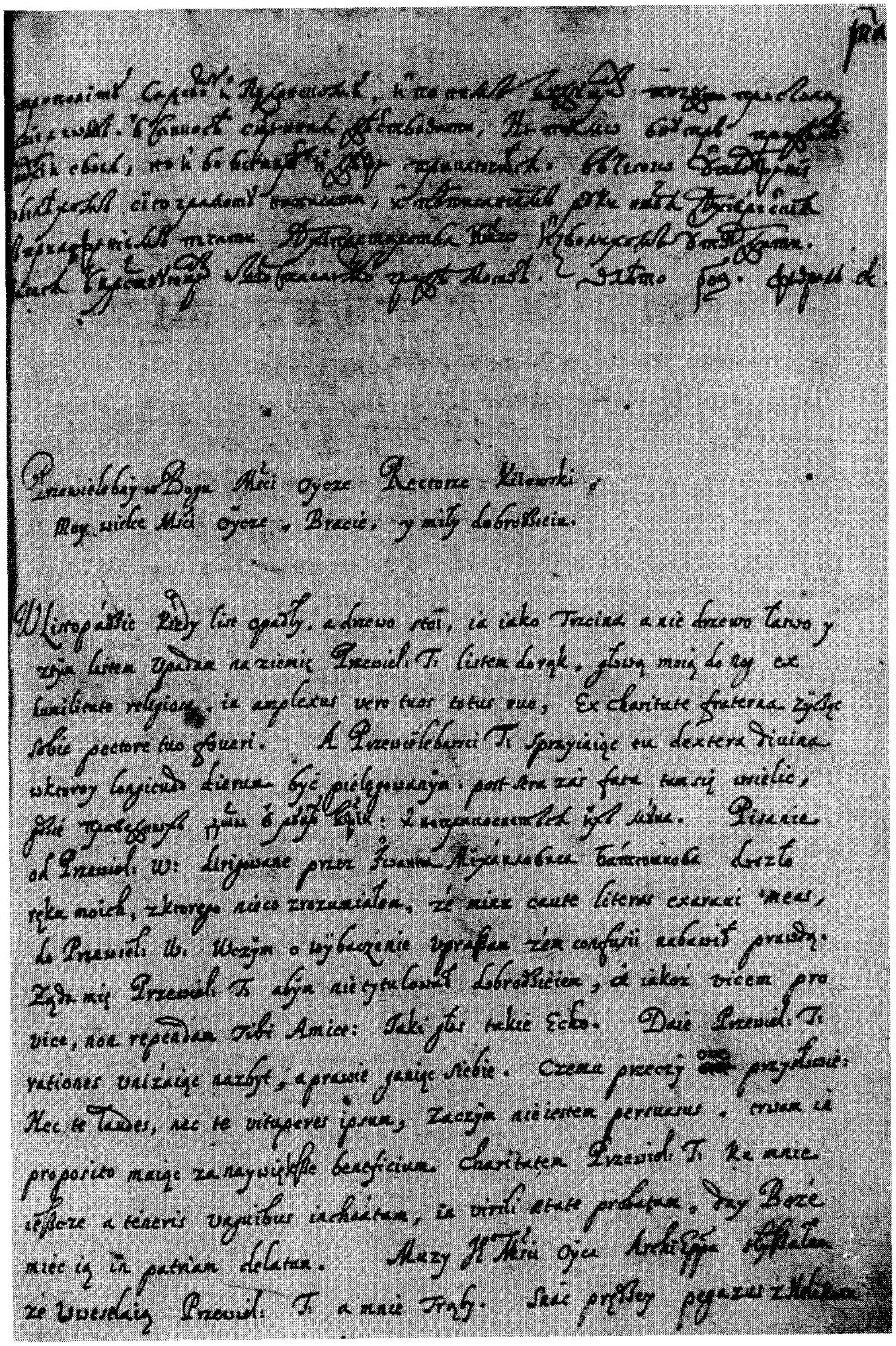


W Bogu Przewielebny Mści Oycze Namiestniku Pieczarski,
Mnie w Chrystusie serdecznie miły Oycze y Bracie.

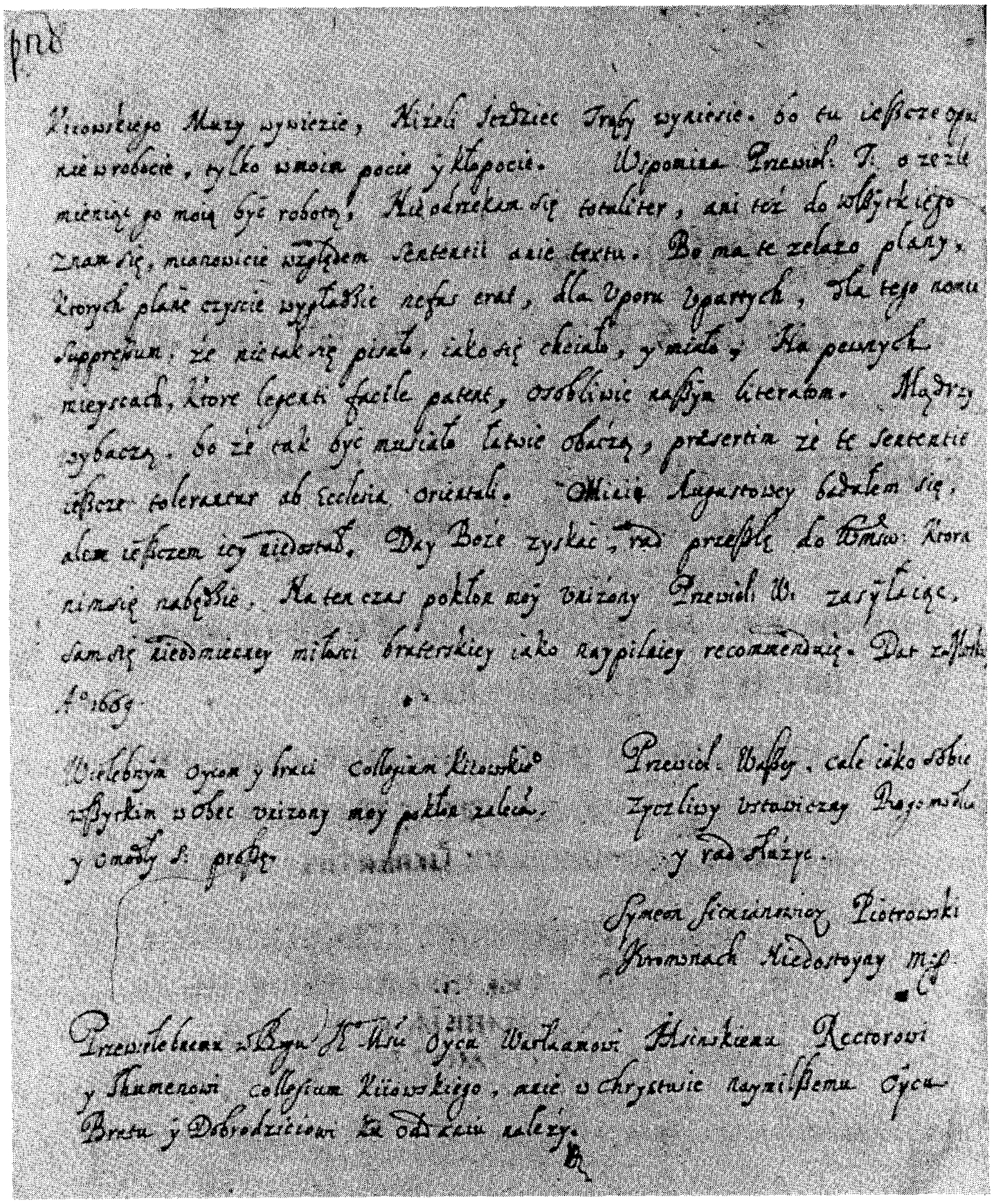
Letter 6 (conclusion)



Letter 8



Letter 9 (beginning)



pnd

Kiiowskiego Muzy wywiezie, Niżeli Jeździec Trąby wyniesie. bo tu ieszcze ojcu nie wrobocie, tylko wmoim pociu y kłopocie. Wspomina Przewiel. T. o rzezie mieniąc po moią być robotą, Nie odrzekam się totaliter, ani też do wszystkiego znam się, mianowicie wzglądem Sententii anie textu. Bo ma te zelazo plany, ktorych plane czysto wygładzie nefas erat, dla uporu upartych, dla tego nonu supprehun. że nie tak się pisało, iako się chciało, y miało; Na pewnych mieyscach, ktore legenti facile patent, osobliwie naszym literatom. Mądrzy wybaczą. bo że tak być musiało łatwie obaczą, praesertim że te Sententie ieszcze tolerantur ab Ecclesia orientali. Milicię Augustowey badałem się, alem ieszczem iey niedostał. Day Boże zyskać, rad przeszlę do Wmsw: ktora nim się nabędzie. Na ten czas pokłon moy uniżony Przewiel. W. zasyłaiąc, samę się niedmienney miłości braterskiey iako naypilniey recommenduię. Dat z Moskwy A° 1669

Wielebnym Oycom y braci Collegium Kiiowskiego wszytkim wobec uniżony moy pokłon zalecam, y o modły S. proszę.

Przewiel. Waszey, cale iako sobie życzliwy ustawiczny Bogomodlca y rad służyć.

Symeon Sitnianowicz Piotrowski Mnich Niedostoyny m.p.

Przewielebnemu w Bogu Je[g]o M-sci Oycu Warłamowi Jasinskiemu Rectorowi y Ihumenowi Collegium Kiiowskiego, a mnie w Chrystusie naymilszemu Oycu Bratu y Dobrodzieiowi ku oddaniu należy.

Letter 9 (conclusion)

Mikhail Katkov and Mykola Kostomarov: A Note on Pëtr A. Valuev's Anti-Ukrainian Edict of 1863*

DAVID SAUNDERS

I have argued elsewhere that the main reason for St. Petersburg's anti-Ukrainian edicts of 1847, 1863, and 1876 was the Russian authorities' determination to prevent Ukrainian peasants from receiving primary education in their native language.[1] Other scholars have emphasized St. Petersburg's mistrust of Ukrainian intellectuals and fear of Polish nationalists.[2] The present note concedes that, even if Ukrainian intellectuals and Polish nationalists were not of overriding importance in the genesis of the edicts, they contributed significantly to the feverish atmosphere in which Pëtr Aleksandrovich Valuev, Russia's Minister of Internal Affairs, prohibited the publication of educational literature in Ukrainian on 18 July 1863.[3]

The note recounts a debate which took place in the Moscow and St. Petersburg press in the summer of 1863 between the right-wing Russian journalist Mikhail Nikiforovich Katkov and the populist Ukrainian historian Mykola Ivanovych Kostomarov. By attacking Ukrainophiles on the grounds that their movement was an offshoot of the contemporary Polish rebellion, Katkov heightened his readers' fear of Polish nationalists. By responding aggressively to Katkov's accusations, Kostomarov increased Russians' mistrust of Ukrainian intellectuals. In the course of the dispute, Kostomarov turned to Valuev for help. His previously unpublished letter to the minister appears in Russian and English at the end of this commentary.

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* I am indebted to the British Academy for funding the research on which this paper is based and to Professor Orest Pelech for commenting on an earlier version.

1. David Saunders, "The Kirillo-Methodian Society," *Slavonic and East European Review* 71 (1993): 684–92; idem, "Russia and Ukraine under Alexander II: The Valuev Edict of 1863," *International History Review* 17 (1995): 23–50; idem, "Russia's Ukrainian Policy (1847–1905): A Demographic Approach," *European History Quarterly* 25 (1995): 181–208.

2. Fedir Savchenko, *Zaborona ukraïnstva 1876 r.* (Kyiv, 1930; Munich, 1970), focuses on Ukrainian intellectuals; S. N. Shchegolev, *Ukrainskoe dvizhenie, kak sovremennyi ètap iuzhnorusskogo separatizma* (Kyiv, 1912), highlights Poles.

3. Valuev's edict was incorrectly dated 8 July in a volume printed for use within the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1865: Ministry of Internal Affairs, *Sbornik rasporiazhenii po delam pechati (s 1863 po 1-e sentiabria 1865 goda)* (St. Petersburg, 1865), 9. For the correct date, see Mikhail Lemke, *Èpokha tsenzurnykh reform 1859–1865 godov* (St. Petersburg, 1904), 302, n. 1, and the original: Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv (hereafter RGIA), fond (hereafter f.) 775 (Central Censorship Department), opis′ (hereafter op.) 1, delo (hereafter d.) 188, listy (hereafter ll.) 13–14.

Remarkably, in view of the reputation he made as a right-winger between 1863 and his death in 1887, Mikhail Katkov was one of the most liberal editors in Russia between 1856 and the end of 1862. When, in those years, Boris Chicherin sent him a review of Alexis de Tocqueville's *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution* which took exception to the book's condemnation of the centralized administrative structure of pre-revolutionary France, Katkov refused to publish it because he found its argument unacceptable. The purpose of centralization, he believed, was "to render unto Caesar all that is Caesar's, but very much not to give to Caesar what can in no way belong to him."[4] In the late 1850s, in other words, Katkov sympathized with Tocqueville's opinion that central government ought to be non-interventionist and minimal. For the time being, his ideal political system was that of contemporary England.[5]

Why Katkov changed tack after the outbreak of the Polish rebellion in January 1863 is unclear. Perhaps he was simply a time-server, anxious to remain in favor with a Russian government whose priorities were changing. Perhaps, having been brought up on Hegel, he thought one set of rules applied to well-established states but another to stateless minorities like the Poles (and, *a fortiori,* Ukrainians). Perhaps securing the Russian Empire's borders against the possibility of pro-Polish intervention by foreign powers was more important to him than the pursuit of domestic reform. Perhaps his supposedly "liberal" views of the period 1856–62 were really a covert means of advocating the maintenance of the social hegemony of a Russian landowning elite, in which case he did not shift his ground at all. Or perhaps he was simply shaken by the Polish rising and threw his prior convictions to the winds. The abundant literature on his life and career makes all these arguments tenable.[6]

What matters for present purposes, however, is less the reason for Katkov's reorientation than the fact that it took place. By June 1863, when he attacked Ukrainophilism, he had turned his newspaper *Moskovskie vedomosti* (*Moscow News*) into the principal organ of militant Russian nationalism. In the process

4. B. N. Chicherin, *Vospominaniia: Moskva sorokovykh godov* (Moscow, 1929), 281.

5. See Eugene Pyziur, "Mikhail N. Katkov: Advocate of English Liberalism in Russia, 1856–1863," *Slavonic and East European Review* 45 (1967): 439–56.

6. On Katkov see especially S. Nevedenskii, *Katkov i ego vremia* (St. Petersburg, 1888); Marc Raeff, "A Reactionary Liberal: M. N. Katkov," in idem, *Political Ideas and Institutions in Imperial Russia* (Boulder, Colorado, 1994), 22–31 (first published in 1952); Martin Katz, *Mikhail N. Katkov: A Political Biography 1818–1887* (The Hague and Paris, 1966); J. D. Morison, "Katkov and Panslavism," *Slavonic and East European Review* 46 (1968): 422–41; V. A. Tvardovskaia, *Ideologiia poreformennogo samoderzhaviia (M. N. Katkov i ego izdaniia)* (Moscow, 1978); and Karel Durman, *The Time of the Thunderer: Mikhail Katkov, Russian Nationalist Extremism and the Failure of the Bismarckian System, 1871–1887* (Boulder, Colorado, 1988).

he had made the paper enormously popular among the sort of Russian whose prime conviction was loyalty to the throne. "It is difficult for someone who did not himself live through the 1860s," wrote a later head of the imperial censorship, "to have the slightest conception of the enormous influence which articles in *Moskovskie vedomosti* exerted in respect of the Polish question."[7] In 1863 Katkov's influence extended to the highest levels of government. When he wrote to Valuev in March about a step St. Petersburg had just taken to widen the gap between the Polish landlords of the empire's western provinces and their non-Polish peasants, the minister welcomed his letter and encouraged him to write again:

> I make a request of you, and I put to you a proposition: the request is that you always tell me your opinion with the same frankness; the proposition is that you conclude a treaty with me, a *pactum*, concerning an ongoing exchange of thoughts and opinions. I am prepared, so far as is possible, to give you a *confidential* answer to every question you put to me, and I should like, in my turn, to be able to turn to you, equally *confidentially*, for notification of your view on the questions concerning which I should like to learn your opinion.[8]

Katkov made extensive use of Valuev's offer, writing to him throughout 1863 and subsequently.[9] Although the published version of the correspondence between the two men contains no material between 4 June and 29 July 1863, and therefore no reference to developments between Katkov's initial attack on Ukrainophilism (22 June) and Valuev's anti-Ukrainian edict (18 July), V. A. Tvardovskaia has pointed out that additional letters have survived in manuscript.[10] It is possible, therefore, that Valuev's main reason for banning educational literature in Ukrainian was an as yet unpublished letter from Katkov whose importance no one has realized. If this turns out to be the case, Mikhail Lemke's view that the press debate between Katkov and Kostomarov was enough in itself to explain Valuev's edict will have been proved more or less correct.[11] The Soviet scholar who went so far as to attribute to Katkov the most famous phrase in the edict ("there has not been, is not, and cannot be a Little Russian language") will not have been far wrong either.[12] In the absence of such a letter, however, it ought to be borne in

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7. E. Feoktistov, *Za kulisami politiki i literatury 1848–1896* (Leningrad, 1929; Moscow, 1991), 83.

8. V. Mustafin, "Mikhail Nikiforovich Katkov i graf Pëtr Aleksandrovich Valuev v ikh perepiske (1863–1879 gg.)," *Russkaia starina*, 1879 (8): 295 (italics in the original).

9. See Mustafin, "Mikhail Nikiforovich Katkov," *Russkaia starina*, 1879 (8): 279–300; (9): 403–413; (10): 91–95; (11): 247–51; (12): 416–30, and 1916 (6): 346–65.

10. Tvardovskaia, *Ideologiia poreformennogo samoderzhaviia*, 33, n. 45.

11. Lemke, *Èpokha*, 295–309.

12. Fedor Iastrebov, *Revoliutsionnye demokraty na Ukraine: Vtoraia polovina 50-kh–nachalo 60-kh godov XIX st.* (Kyiv, 1960), 284.

mind that the archival file on Valuev's edict makes no reference to Katkov, that the minister's published diary makes no reference to the journalist in the context of Ukrainian affairs in 1863, that in late July 1863 the minister told Katkov that he did not always agree with him, and that recent work on Katkov makes as much of the fact that the imperial government found him hard to handle as it does of the fact that the authorities welcomed his support.[13] Katkov undoubtedly had Valuev's ear. It is hard to believe that the minister did not read his newspaper with care.[14] But as I have tried to show elsewhere, St. Petersburg had grounds other than Katkov's Ukrainophobia for promulgating the first of its bans on Ukrainian-language publishing.

Some of the activities of Mykola Kostomarov illustrate what those other grounds were. Kostomarov has not attracted the degree of scholarly attention enjoyed by Katkov. Although his historical, journalistic, and ethnographic writings were reprinted early in the twentieth century,[15] the first substantial biographies appeared only in the 1990s.[16]

Perhaps because in the last thirty years of his life (1855–85) Kostomarov chose to spend most of his time in St. Petersburg and to write almost exclusively in Russian (and often on non-Ukrainian subjects), Ukrainian students of his work have found it hard to take him to their hearts. Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, for example, concluded a commemorative article on his historical writing with several pages of criticism. Whilst acknowledging that in the 1840s Kostomarov had been directly involved in generating the liberating ideas of Ukraine's "Cyrillo-Methodians" ("this high point of Ukrainian national self-consciousness"), Hrushevs'kyi believed that by the end of his life the historian had "succeeded only in part in realising them in his

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13. See RGIA, f. 775, op. 1, d. 188 (the archival file); P. A. Valuev, *Dnevnik* (2 vols., Moscow, 1961); Mustafin, "Mikhail Nikiforovich Katkov," *Russkaia starina*, 1915 (9): 406; and V. G. Chernukha, "M. N. Katkov i 'Moskovskie vedomosti,'" in her *Pravitel'stvennaia politika v otnoshenii pechati 60–70-e gody XIX veka* (Leningrad, 1989), 151–97.

14. On 29 July 1863 Valuev referred explicitly to an article in *Moskovskie vedomosti* (Mustafin, "Mikhail Nikiforovich Katkov," *Russkaia starina*, 1879 (9): 407). After leaving the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1868 he kept up with the newspaper even in Italy: RGIA, f. 908 (P. A. Valuev), op. 1, *edinitsa khraneniia* 168, l. 23, Valuev to A. E. Timashev, Rome, 31 January/12 February 1869 (complaining about Katkov's criticism of the imperial censorship).

15. N. I. Kostomarov, *Sobranie sochinenii: Istoricheskie monografii i issledovaniia* (21 books in 8 vols., St. Petersburg, 1903–8); M. I. Kostomarov, *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia* (Kyiv, 1928); idem, *Etnohrafichni pysannia* (Kyiv, 1930).

16. Iu. A. Pinchuk, *Mykola Ivanovych Kostomarov* (Kyiv, 1992); Thomas M. Prymak, *Mykola Kostomarov: A Biography* (Toronto, 1996).

historical oeuvre and left the generations of his heirs a great deal more to do."[17]

At the time of his argument with Katkov, however, Kostomarov was probably the best-known Ukrainian activist in the Russian Empire. After spending a year in prison and eight years in exile in Saratov in the wake of the suppression of the Cyrillo-Methodians in 1847, he had returned to scholarship in 1856, published a major study of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi in 1857, and been appointed to a chair at St. Petersburg University in 1859. In his inaugural lecture he made clear that in dealing with the history of Kyivan Rus' he would "select from [the wearisome series of internecine princely conflicts and wars] only what points to the degree of the people's involvement in them, the people's view of them and the effect they had on the people's life."[18] Unlike Katkov, in other words, Kostomarov was a populist. That his populism was of an explicitly Ukrainian variety is evident in every line of the long letter he sent Alexander Herzen for publication in *Kolokol* (*The Bell*) in 1860.[19] The most striking of the many contributions he made to *Osnova* (*The Foundation*), the journal in which the literary activities of Ukrainians reached their peak in St. Petersburg in 1861 and 1862, argued that the word "Russian" needed to be reinterpreted to take account of the difference between Russians and Ukrainians. In Kostomarov's opinion, one should speak not of one but of "Two Russian Nationalities."[20] Hrushevs'kyi may have had doubts about Kostomarov's achievement as a whole, but he acknowledged that his articles in *Osnova* "effected ... a sea-change (*povnyi perevorot*) in the historical thinking of Eastern Slavdom."[21]

In May 1862 Kostomarov moved beyond activism of a purely literary kind when he started a fund-raising campaign in *Osnova* for the publication of books in Ukrainian from which children could be taught in Ukrainian primary schools.[22] This step and its context and consequences were to be among the main reasons for Katkov's attack on Ukrainophilism the following year. Since the centrality of the question of native-language education in the genesis of Russia's anti-Ukrainian edicts of 1847, 1863, and 1876 is the thesis of my other articles on the subject,[23] I shall not attempt here to repeat the detailed

17. M. Hrushevs'kyi, "Ukraïns'ka istoriohrafiia i Mykola Kostomarov," *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* 50 (1910): 225.

18. N. I. Kostomarov, *Lektsii po russkoi istorii* (St. Petersburg, 1861), 12.

19. Anon. (M. I. Kostomarov), "Ukraina," *Kolokol*, no. 61 (15 January 1860): 499–503.

20. N. I. Kostomarov, "Dve russkie narodnosti," in idem, *Sobranie sochinenii*, 1: 33–65 (first published in March 1861).

21. M. Hrushevs'kyi, "Z publitsystychnykh pysan' Kostomarova," in Kostomarov, *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia*, x.

22. His appeal is reprinted in Kostomarov, *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia*, 137–40.

23. See above, n. 1.

evidence put forward there. Suffice it to say that the first Sunday school in the Russian Empire had opened in Kyiv in the autumn of 1859, that the notion of Ukrainian-language primary education had gained ground rapidly between then and 1862, that a number of textbooks in Ukrainian had appeared in print already, and that Kostomarov was merely trying to lend his authority to a development that promised significant returns. It is time to return to Katkov.

Until the Polish rebellion broke out in January 1863, Katkov seems to have been mildly sympathetic to Ukrainians. In a leader of January 1861 on the emergence of new European nationalities, he implied support for Ukrainian subjects of the Habsburgs.[24] In January 1862 he printed a letter on the progress of serf emancipation in Russian Ukraine which applauded the use of the Ukrainian language in dealings between Russian officials and Ukrainian peasants.[25] In November 1862 he published "An Opinion from Kyiv," in which twenty-one Ukrainian signatories attempted to rebut the charges that they were firebrands, that they were encouraging peasants to impede the enactment of their own emancipation, and that they were separatists. Introducing this memorandum, Katkov said that he was the last person to seek the imposition of constraints on Ukrainian literature. He doubted whether it could be successfully promoted and feared that valuable energy would be expended to no purpose, but he accepted that others might take a different view. He disagreed with the Ukrainians whose statement he was publishing, but he was prepared to believe that the principles behind it were cognate with his own and that, therefore, it deserved some sympathy.[26] He seems to have maintained this broadminded view until January 1863, when on two occasions he printed appeals from Kostomarov for money to further the campaign he had started in *Osnova*.[27]

Admittedly, there were signs as early as June 1862 that Katkov mistrusted the rise of the Ukrainian language. Commenting on a report from Kyiv about educational debates in Ukraine, he took the view that conflicting educational interests were lamentable "in one of the most fundamental (*korennykh*) Russian regions," and that the language of instruction in the Russian Empire's primary schools ought to be Russian. The language spoken in Ukraine, Katkov claimed, differed less sharply from standard Russian than did certain local dialects to be found elsewhere in the Slavic part of the

24. Editorial, *Russkii vestnik: Sovremennaia letopis'*, 1861 (4): 10–14.
25. K. Kushchin, "Pis'mo k izdateliu," *Russkii vestnik: Sovremennaia letopis'*, 1862 (4): 32.
26. *Russkii vestnik: Sovremennaia letopis'*, 1862 (46): 3n.
27. N. Kostomarov, "Zaiavlenie," *Moskovskie vedomosti*, 12 January 1863, and idem, "Ob"iavlenie," *Moskovskie vedomosti*, 30 January 1863.

empire. Such dialects nowhere "compete[d] with the general language ... of the people. The Russian language is the common property both of the so-called Great Russians and of Little Russians [i.e., Russians and Ukrainians]. It is not Great Russian but Russian, which has been forged by history and with which Russian education is inextricably intertwined."[28]

A year later, Katkov began a sustained attack on Ukrainophilism. In a fulminating leader of 22 June 1863 he claimed that rebellious Poles had "naturally not omitted to make use even of Ukrainophile tendencies, to which our public opinion has not yet given the attention it deserves."[29] Having formerly been prepared to give what he called "Ukrainophile tendencies" a hearing, the editor now believed that they were wholly unreasonable. The East Slavs, he felt, were more homogeneous than "any other great national group [*narodnost'*] in Europe." Although Ukrainians and Belarusians spoke differently from Russians, they did not possess their own languages. The differences among the East Slavs were the result of historical misfortune. "The Mongols and Lithuania divided the populations of Rus' (*russkie narodonaseleniia*) for a time, and after the south-western part of our people fell under the Polish yoke it suffered for a long time and for a long time was drenched in blood." This "south-western part of our people" eventually escaped from Polish control, "but nevertheless the period of separation from Russia introduced into South-Russian speech a number of Polish elements and in general isolated it," with the result that the southerners' speech differed from that of other East Slavs to a greater extent than local forms of speech (*mestnye govory*) differed from each other in Russia. Nevertheless, Ukrainians and Russians were one people. "Ukrainophilism," Katkov thought, was a recent construct. Polish publicists had started promoting it two or three years previously in order to argue that Ukrainian affinities were Polish rather than Russian. To their shame, Russian writers had responded sympathetically to Polish claims and had begun speaking of "two Russian nationalities and two Russian languages."[30]

To Katkov, this attempt to distinguish between Russians and Ukrainians represented "A scandalous and preposterous sophism!" He admitted, however, that Ukrainophilism had had remarkable consequences. "Enthusiastic propagators of Little Russian literacy in sheepskin hats began to appear in Ukrainian villages and to set up Little Russian schools, contrary to the efforts

28. P. Annenkov, "Iz Kieva," *Russkii vestnik: Sovremennaia letopis'*, 1862 (25): 3n.

29. Editorial, *Moskovskie vedomosti*, 22 June 1863. All subsequent quotations in this paragraph come from this editorial, part of which is to be found in translation in Martin McCauley and Peter Waldron, *The Emergence of the Modern Russian State, 1855–81* (Basingstoke and London, 1988), 208–9.

30. A clear reference to Kostomarov's article "Two Russian Nationalities" of March 1861 (see above).

of the local priesthood, who along with the peasants did not know how to repel these uninvited enlighteners. Booklets began to appear in the newly invented Little Russian language. Then a professor with a literary reputation formally opened a nation-wide subscription-list to collect money for the publication of Little Russian books and booklets."[31] Ukrainophiles were undoubtedly "in the hands of [Polish] intriguers." "We know that the most fanatical of the Polish agitators expect that their concerns will benefit, sooner or later, from Ukrainophilism." Although Katkov found even the Poles' aspirations for themselves objectionable (let alone their attempts to persuade Ukrainians to join them), he accepted that, strictly speaking, Polish claims were rational because Poland had once been an independent state and Polish was certainly a separate language. He could not understand, however, why Ukrainophiles allowed themselves to be converted to Polish ways of thinking. "Ukraine has never had a distinctive history, has never been a separate state, the Ukrainian people is a purely Russian people, a primeval (*korennoi*) Russian people, an essential part of the Russian people without which the Russian people cannot go on being what it is." Traditionally, Katkov said, Ukrainians and Poles disliked each other. The Ukrainian language did not exist. Ukrainian peasants were hostile to Ukrainophile intellectuals. Even in distant Austrian-ruled Galicia the language of the Ukrainian natives had been close to Russian until recently. The language of the Hungarian part of Ukraine was almost wholly Russian. "A sad fate is overtaking Ukrainophile aspirations! They coincide point for point with the anti-Russian interests of the Poles and the dispositions of the Austrian government." In conclusion, Katkov mentioned Kostomarov by name, telling him not to send *Moskovskie vedomosti* any more advertisements in connection with his fund-raising campaign and hoping that this "Ukrainian" collection would be smaller than collections being made for the purpose of fighting Poles.

Kostomarov took up the cudgels. On 6 July 1863 he denied, in I. S. Aksakov's Slavophile Moscow weekly newspaper *Den'* (*The Day*), that his collection of funds for the publication of educational books in Ukrainian was inspired by Poles. The idea, he said, was his own. Far from supporting him, Poles in right-bank Ukraine were positively hostile to the notion of promoting the Ukrainian language. He had received no money whatever from the province of Volhynia, and very little from the provinces of Kyiv and Podolia. Russians, he believed, ought to be sympathetic to his endeavour. They ought not to listen to those who associated Ukrainophilism with Polish nationalism. Imagining a connection of this kind "would be very funny, if it

31. Another clear reference to Kostomarov, this time to the fund-raising campaign he had launched in *Osnova* in May 1862.

were not so insulting." *Moskovskie vedomosti* ought either to prove that the connection existed or admit its mistake: "I demand this in the name of insulted civic honour."[32]

In publishing Kostomarov's article, the editor of *Den'* appended a long note to it in which he expressed sympathy for the use of Ukrainian and Belarusian in the primary education of the relevant ethnic groups. He was of the opinion, indeed, that forbidding the employment of these languages might have the counter-productive effect of increasing support for the "false theory of federalism." On the other hand, he believed that St. Petersburg had the right to insist on the use of Russian in schools funded by the state. Instruction in Ukrainian and Belarusian ought to be confined to schools whose funding was private. Nor was it proper to seek the standardization of the Ukrainian language for educational purposes. Imposing the Poltava or Chyhyryn dialect on Ukrainians further west (*Chervonorussy*) was "despotic." Whilst accepting that Kostomarov himself had no ulterior motive in promoting Ukrainian-language literacy, the editor believed that the loyalty to the Russian Empire of other (unnamed) Ukrainians was more doubtful.[33]

Kostomarov wrote again. After thanking *Den'* for publishing his article, he took issue with its editorial comments. He conceived federalism as a way of looking at the East Slavs' past, not as a recipe for their future; he knew of no Ukrainian activists whose loyalty to the empire was doubtful; he saw no great difference between the various Ukrainian dialects; and he believed that the question whether Ukrainian intellectuals were out of step with the Ukrainian masses would be easily resolved if the former were supported rather than obstructed in their endeavour to expose the latter to the possibility of achieving literacy in their native language rather than Russian.[34]

The editor of *Den'* dissented from some of these propositions,[35] but Kostomarov refrained from writing to the newspaper a third time because by now his principal adversary had returned to the fray. Katkov responded to the first of his articles in *Den'* by declaring in the "Sunday Supplements" to *Moskovskie vedomosti* that Kostomarov would be well advised simply to abandon his Ukrainophilism, for "nothing good" could come of it. On this occasion Katkov was gracious enough to acknowledge that Kostomarov had "no relations whatever with the Polish insurrectionists" and was pursuing

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32. N. Kostomarov, "Otvet 'Moskovskim Vedomostiam,'" *Den'*, 6 July 1863: 18–19 (reprinted in Kostomarov, *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia*, 159–60).

33. Ibid. (but not reprinted in Kostomarov, *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia*).

34. Nikolai Kostomarov, "Pis'mo k redaktoru," *Den'*, 20 July 1863: 19–20 (reprinted in Kostomarov, *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia*, 160–62).

35. In a series of footnotes in *Den'*, 20 July 1863:19–20 (but not reprinted in Kostomarov, *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia*).

"quite different goals from theirs." He claimed, moreover, not to be seeking the persecution of Ukrainophiles. He still held, however, that the cause to which Kostomarov had committed himself was "in no way better" than that of the Poles. Superficially, he said, Kostomarov's objectives were limited, but if he succeeded in achieving them the consequences threatened to be unfortunate. People other than Kostomarov realized that "if two Russian nationalities were to appear, then one of them would immediately cease to be Russian." There could be "no rivalry between the southern and the northern part of one and the same nationality, just as there can be no rivalry between the two hands, between the two eyes of one and the same living organism." Kostomarov was wrong to think that, far from assisting the Poles, the promotion of Ukrainian culture was the best means of preventing Ukraine from being Polonized. The best that could be said of Ukrainophiles was that they were the victims of "naivety and stupidity." If they were successful in inculcating mass literacy in Ukrainian, it would be necessary, at some point in the future, to eradicate the consequences of their success by force.[36]

Kostomarov replied by asking whether he had been wrong to sense in Katkov's first article that he was being accused of complicity with the Poles; by pointing to the illogicality of recommending the non-persecution of Ukrainophiles whilst at the same time warning of the likelihood that, in the event of their success, it would be necessary to stamp out the effects of their activity by force; and by drawing attention to the sympathy with which Katkov had treated Ukrainian matters only two years previously.[37] To defend his position at greater length, he composed a more substantial article for the recently established liberal newspaper *Golos* (*The Voice*). The censors informed him, however, not only that the article was unsuitable for publication, but also that he was not to be allowed to continue publishing educational literature in Ukrainian. At this point he took his case to the top. Since, in March 1863, control of the censorship had passed from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Internal Affairs,[38] it was to Valuev, the head of the latter, that he was obliged to address himself. His letter to the minister appears in Russian and English at the end of this commentary.

Valuev's response was to ask Kostomarov to visit him at his dacha on 28 July.[39] There, he told him that the idea of publishing in Ukrainian was meritorious in principle but unacceptable in practice because the government

36. M. N. Katkov, "Neskol'ko slov v otvet g. Kostomarovu," *Sovremennaia letopis': Voskresnye pribavleniia k "Moskovskim Vedomostiam,"* 1863 (24): 1–4.

37. *Sankt-peterburgskie vedomosti*, 21 July 1863 (reprinted in Kostomarov, *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia,* 162–63).

38. Charles A. Ruud, *Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press*, 1804–1906 (Toronto, 1982), 135.

39. RGIA, f. 775, op. 1, d. 205, l. 3.

was obliged "not to give ill-intentioned people the chance of putting [the idea] to other uses ... and ... not to give them the opportunity, under the pretext of disseminating popular academic books, of disseminating illegal calls for revolts and disturbances."[40]

It is unclear whether Valuev also told Kostomarov that, ten days before they met, he had issued a general ban on Ukrainian-language educational literature. It would be surprising if he did not, but Kostomarov said in his memoirs that he learned of the edict only subsequently.[41] Either way, Kostomarov's campaign for the promotion of literacy in Ukrainian was at an end. The article he had intended for *Golos* saw the light of day only recently.[42]

Katkov continued to fulminate. In August 1863 he tackled Kostomarov's charge that he had changed his opinion on Ukrainian affairs since 1861 by claiming that it was not he but the nature of Ukrainian affairs that had changed. Long-term goals, he believed, underpinned Kostomarov's cautious descriptions of his plans. If the Ukrainian language were to be employed in Ukrainian primary schools, it would not be long before it came to be used in higher Ukrainian schools and in the courts. If Ukrainian achieved the linguistic status of Polish or Czech, the millions of people who had become literate in it would have grounds for claiming autonomy. The possibility, Katkov felt, had to be forestalled.[43]

Kostomarov noted in reply that he could no longer write fully "for reasons which are very well known to the editor of *Moscow News*." He was still sending Katkov historical work for publication, but denied that in doing so he was conceding defeat in their argument about Ukrainophilism. He invited Katkov to print the letter on this point which he had enclosed when sending him the historical work.[44] In another enormous article on Ukrainophilism, Katkov rejected the request. Here, he delighted in the fact that "Mr. Kostomarov is now encountering obstacles to his activity on the part of

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40. Such, at least, is Kostomarov's record of the meeting: N. I. Kostomarov, *Istoricheskie proizvedeniia: Avtobiografiia* (Kyiv, 1989), 595. Valuev's record says only that he "told [Kostomarov] gently, but clearly and categorically, that the step [he] had taken would remain in force": Valuev, *Dnevnik*, 1: 239. An anonymous bureaucrat's record says that the minister told Kostomarov "how he should behave in situations of this kind": RGIA, f. 775, opis' 1, delo 205, list 4.

41. Kostomarov, *Istoricheskie proizvedeniia: Avtobiografiia*, 595. Valuev did not make the edict public, but merely dispatched copies of it to the censors.

42. Entitled "Are Our Accusers Right?", it is to be found in Iu. A. Pinchuk, "Zaboronena stattia M. I. Kostomarova," *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal,* 1990 (7): 140–46.

43. M. N. Katkov, "Po povodu ob"iasnenii g. Kostomarova," *Sovremennaia letopis',* 1863 (26): 1–5.

44. Nikolai Kostomarov, "Zametka," *Sankt-peterburgskie vedomosti,* 21 August 1863 (reprinted in Kostomarov, *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia*, 163–64).

various government agencies." His references to the letter he had received from Kostomarov make plain that it was similar to the letter Kostomarov had sent to Valuev. Kostomarov had complained of not being able to publish instructional literature in Ukrainian and of not being able to publish a long article in his own defense in one of the St. Petersburg newspapers. He had asked Katkov not only to give up his attack but also to intercede on his behalf with the authorities. Katkov had no intention of doing so, but, sarcastically, told Kostomarov not to despair. He could hope for support among proponents of the Belarusian identity. "Who would have thought that certain enthusiasts want to elevate even the Belorussian dialect into a literary language? What a harvest for the future!"[45]

The one prominent bureaucrat who sympathized with Kostomarov, Minister of Education Aleksandr Vasil'evich Golovnin, made it possible for him to publish an article on differences between the Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish languages in his ministry's official organ in September 1863.[46] Thereafter, Kostomarov seems to have given up the unequal struggle. In 1864 he felt obliged to turn down the offer of a professorship in Kyiv after learning that the local Governor-General intended to oppose his appointment.[47] By 1871 he was writing that Ukrainian literature had "ceased to exist" within the confines of the Russian Empire.[48] Not until 1881, near the end of his life, did he make another sustained attempt to promote the fortunes of the Ukrainian language.[49] Katkov, meanwhile, remained firmly anti-Ukrainian. In April 1866 he angered the writer Danylo Mordovets'-Slipchenko by levelling the charge of Ukrainophilism at him in the tense atmosphere that obtained after Dmitrii Karakozov's attempt on the life of the tsar.[50] In February 1875 he made space in his monthly *Russkii vestnik* (*The Russian Herald*) for an indictment of the next generation of Ukrainophiles that played a significant part in the background to St. Petersburg's final and most wide-ranging proscription of Ukrainian literature in 1876.[51] Having convinced himself, in

45. *Moskovskie vedomosti,* 4 September 1863.

46. Kostomarov, *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia,* 168–79. On Golovnin's sympathy for Kostomarov and hostility to Valuev's edict see Kostomarov, *Istoricheskie proizvedeniia: Avtobiografiia*, 595–6, and Lemke, *Epokha,* 304–306.

47. Kostomarov, *Istoricheskie proizvedeniia: Avtobiografiia*, 596; see also Ihnat Zhytets'kyi, "Kyïvs'ka Hromada za 60-tykh rokiv," *Ukraïna,* 1928 (1):102 n. 3.

48. Kostomarov, *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia,* 246.

49. Ibid., 267–80.

50. *Moskovskie vedomosti,* 28 April 1866. Mordovets'-Slipchenko countered that he could no more be said to belong to a Ukrainophile party than Katkov could be said to belong to a "Patagonian" party (*Golos,* 4 May 1866).

51. Z, "Sovremennoe ukrainofil'stvo," *Russkii vestnik* 115 (1875): 838–68. On the importance of this article in the background to the edict of 1876 see Savchenko, *Zaborona,* 134–41.

1863, that the promotion of Ukrainian interests was fraught with danger for the unity of the Russian Empire, he seems never to have returned to the relative sympathy for Ukraine he had occasionally manifested prior to the outbreak of the Polish rebellion.

Although no one has ever demonstrated the existence of a direct connection between Katkov's attack on Ukrainophilism and Valuev's anti-Ukrainian edict, and although, as I have shown elsewhere, the immediate occasion of the edict was a letter from censors in Kyiv rather than articles by a journalist in Moscow,[52] it is difficult, in view of the above, to believe that Russia's Minister of Internal Affairs was wholly unaffected by the debate between Katkov and Kostomarov of the summer of 1863.

University of Newcastle upon Tyne

52. Saunders, "Russia and Ukraine," 28–32.

Transcription

M. I. Kostomarov to P. A. Valuev, St. Petersburg, 23 July 1863*

Ваше Высокопревосходительство,

Петр Александрович,

Принимаю смелость просить Вас покорнейше благосклонно прочесть эти строки. Вот в чем дело, Ваше Высокопревосходительство:

В 136 № Московских Ведомостей явилась статья, направляемая против издания книг научного содержания на южнорусском языке, предпринятого мною. В ней бросается на это дело тень подозрения, проводится мысль о солидарности его с польскими замыслами. Публицист прямо выразился, что сбор пожертвований на такое дело гораздо хуже сбора в пользу польского мятежа. Такие выходки требовали с моей стороны возражений и объяснений, но статья моя, посланная в газету 'Голос', не пропущена цензурою. Между тем цензор Лебедев, которому я представил две малороссийские рукописи для цензирования, объявил, что, не находя в них, по содержанию, ничего, противного цензурным узаконениям, он не может в настоящее время одобрить их к напечатанию, потому что они писаны по-малороссийски.

Из этого можно заключить, что правительство оказывает доверие к тем, которые думают, будто бы издание книг научного содержания на южнорусском языке состоит в солидарности с идеею сепаратизма и стремлениями оторвать Южную Русь от Русского государства.

Но в таком случае да позволено же будет и противной стороне высказаться и также свободно защищать себя, как свободно на нее нападают.

Напечатанный в 'Дне' вызов к объяснению двусмысленных и оскорбительных выражений побудил публициста, в 24-№ воскресных прибавлений, объявить, что он не подозревает меня в прямом

соумышлении с поляками. Тот же публицист, утверждая, будто малороссийское наречие есть неорганическая примесь польских слов и форм к русскому языку и не имеет ничего самобытного, будто народ в нем не нуждается, не дорожит им и охотно усвоивает русский книжный язык, легко понимаемый, и будто, наконец, пишущие и издающие малороссийские книги хлопочут о создании искуственного языка, который хотят навязать одиннадцати миллионам, преследуя, при этом, цели, которые окажутся вредными, - высказывает, однако, желание, чтоб я и другие, думающие со мною одинаково, выражали свои мнения свободно. Между тем, в настоящее время, я лишен возможности опровергать моих противников по этому вопросу, потому что судьба статьи, посланной в 'Голос', дает мне повод полагать, что и другие мои статьи в пользу издания книг научного содержания на южнорусском языке не будут допускаться к напечатанию. Сверх-того, запрещение на печатание книг научного содержания на том только основании, что они писаны по малороссийски, ставит меня в невозможность защищать дело против которого вооружается уже не мнение частных лиц, а сила правительства.

Audiatur et altera pars! В ценсурных постановлениях существует правило, что обвиняемый в чем бы то ни было каким-либо повременным изданием, имеет право печатать в свое оправдание в том же издании. Я обращаюсь к Вашему Высокопревосходительству с покорнейшею просьбою: применить это правило ко мне и дозволить мне напечатать оправдание своего дела в Московских Ведомостях, обязав редакцию принять мою статью, а вместе с тем, дозволить печатать малороссийские книги научного содержания, если они не будут противны, по содержанию, существующим ценсурным правилам; ибо нет такого постановления, которое бы лишало возможности невинную по мыслям книгу явиться в печати, единственно потому что она написана на таком или ином языке или наречии. Умоляю Ваше Высокопревосходительство отстранить от вопроса об издании книг научного содержания на южнорусском языке бездоказательные и крайне оскорбительные для всех, имеющих честь принадлежить к малорусскому племени, подозрения в солидарности с какими либо вредными замыслами святого дела народного образования, — пусть этот вопрос станет на чисто учено-литературно-педагогическую почву, и будет дозволен свободный обмен доказательств pro et contra: тогда само собою окажется в чем истина и в чем заблуждение.

Примите уверение в искренности чувств глубочайшего уважения и совершенной преданности с которыми честь имею пребыть

Вашего Высокопревосходительства

покорнейший слуга

Николай Костомаров

Июля 23.1863
С-Петербург
Васильевск. Остр.
IX.линия
Д. Карманова

* RGIA, fond 775, opis' 1, delo 205, listy 1–2. I am extremely grateful to Pavel Dolukhanov and Marianna Taymanova for checking my transcription of this document; footnotes explaining matters of detail have been added to the translation below.

Translation

Your Excellency,

Pëtr Aleksandrovich,

I make so bold as most humbly to ask you graciously to read these lines. This is what is at issue, Your Excellency:

An article appeared in No. 136 of the *Moscow News* inveighing against my scheme for publishing academic books in the South Russian language.[1] It casts a shadow of suspicion on this enterprise, hinting at its association with the designs of the Poles. The publicist said explicitly that collecting donations in support of this scheme is much worse than collecting them to further the Polish revolt. Sallies of this kind required objections and explanations on my part, but the censorship turned down an article I sent to the newspaper *The Voice*. Furthermore, censor Lebedev, to whom I presented two Little Russian manuscripts for censoring, stated that although so far as their content was concerned he could find nothing in them that contravened the censorship laws, at the present time he could not approve them for publication because they are written in Little Russian.[2]

One may conclude from this that the government accepts the view of those who think that publishing academic books in the South Russian language is somehow associated with the idea of separatism and with aspirations to detach Southern Rus′ from the Russian state.

But if this is indeed the case, let those who think otherwise be permitted to speak out and defend themselves as freely as they are being attacked.

The publication of a demand in *Den'* for an explanation of his ambivalent and insulting phraseology prompted the publicist to declare in No. 24 of the *Sunday Supplements* that he did not suspect me of direct complicity with the

1. I.e., Katkov's article of 22 June 1863, on which see the commentary. I am grateful to Orest Pelech for pointing out that by calling the books in question "academic" (alternatively, "learned"), Kostomarov may have been attempting to make them sound esoteric and therefore of limited appeal. In reality, of course, he intended them to be read widely.

2. For a note on "censor Lebedev" see I. P. Foote, "The St. Petersburg Censorship Committee, 1828–1905," *Oxford Slavonic Papers,* new series, 24 (1991): 107.

Poles.[3] After asserting that the Little Russian dialect is a non-organic admixture to Russian of Polish words and constructions and has no life of its own, that the people do not need it, do not value it, find literary Russian readily comprehensible and master it with enthusiasm, and finally that, in soliciting the creation of an artificial language and seeking to foist it upon eleven million people, those who write and publish Little Russian books are pursuing goals which will turn out to be harmful, the same publicist nevertheless expresses the wish that I and those who share my views express their opinions freely. But at present I have been deprived of the possibility of refuting my opponents in this matter, because the fate of the article I sent to *The Voice* leads me to infer that other articles of mine in support of the publication of academic books in the South Russian language will similarly be barred from publication. The ban on printing the academic books themselves, furthermore, on the sole ground that they are written in Little Russian, renders me unable to defend a project against which not merely the opinion of private individuals but the power of the government is arming itself.

Audiatur et altera pars![4] The censorship regulations include a rule to the effect that a person accused of something or other by one or another periodical has the right to speak in his own defense in the same periodical. I turn to Your Excellency with a most humble request: apply this rule to me and permit me to print a justification of my project in *Moscow News* by obliging the editorial board to accept an article of mine, and furthermore allow the publication of academic books in Little Russian provided their content does not contravene the existing censorship rules; for there is no regulation preventing a book whose thoughts are innocent from appearing in print solely because it is written in one or another language or dialect. I beseech Your Excellency to eliminate from the question of publishing academic books in the South Russian language the groundless and, to all those who have the honor to belong to the Little Russian tribe, extremely insulting suspicion of solidarity with any damaging schemes whatever in respect of the sacred business of popular education,—let this question be placed on a strictly academic-literary-pedagogical footing, and let a free exchange of evidence for and against be permitted: then what is true and what is false will emerge of their own accord.

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3. The references here are to Kostomarov's article of 6 July 1863 in *Den'* and Katkov's reply in *Sovremennaia letopis'*, both of which are summarized in the commentary.

4. "Let the other side be heard too!"

Rest assured of the sincerity of the feelings of deepest respect and most complete devotion with which I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most humble servant

Nikolai Kostomarov

23 July 1863
St. Petersburg
Vasil'evskii Island
9th Line
Karmanov Building

RUS'KA PRAVDA I ISTORIIA ÏÏ TEKSTU. By *Leonid Bilets'kyi*. Edited by *Iurii Knysh*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Ukraïns'ka Vil'na Akademiia Nauk v Kanadi, 1993. 166 pp.

Leonid Bilets'kyi was born in 1882 in the Cherkasy district of Kyiv gubernia, and studied philology with Volodymyr Peretts at Kyiv University, winning the gold medal at his 1913 graduation. Later he taught at the Ukrainian Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi State University (1918–20), the Secret Ukrainian University in L'viv (1921–23), and in 1923 became the first rector of the Drahomanov Pedagogical Institute in Prague where after 1926 he became Professor of Ukrainian Literature. Between 1933 and 1945 he was a member of the faculty of law, and later the faculty of philosophy of the Free Ukrainian University in Prague. In 1949 Bilets'kyi moved to Canada, and for five years served as President of the Free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Canada.

The book under review had its genesis in 1932, when Bilets'kyi accepted an invitation to teach a course on the history of Ukrainian law with a special focus upon the philology of ancient Ukrainian texts. Bilets'kyi undertook this task in 1933, and soon thereafter attempted to publish the lectures. One difficulty after another dogged this plan, with the result that when Bilets'kyi left for Canada the book had still not appeared. His first years in North America were devoted to modern Ukrainian literature, so that the author returned to his study of Pravda only in 1954. Unfortunately, however, by that time Bilets'kyi's health was failing, and by fall 1955 he was dead, the book on the Rus'ka Pravda never having seen the light. An abbreviated version of the manuscript found its way to the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute in the early 1970s, but the full text remained missing. In 1988 a copy of the original work which Bilets'kyi had done in the 1930s in Prague surfaced, but this manuscript was of course badly dated by then. Iurii Knysh has attempted to combine these materials to fashion a likeness of the book which Bilets'kyi had planned.

This brief work includes six chapters, and one appendix. Chapter 1 surveys the scholarly literature, understandably concentrating most attention upon works published before Bilets'kyi inaugurated his course on the Pravda in 1933. There are brief references to later studies, including the monumental critical edition published in Moscow beginning in 1940, but these are perfunctory. Students interested in late imperial and early Soviet scholarship will find some useful information here, but despite the editor's best efforts, the text shows little benefit from more recent scholarship.

Chapter 2 considers the history of the so-called Abbreviated Pravda, which the author thought to have originated sometime early in the seventeenth century. Emphasizing that this version is an "entirely new work," Bilets'kyi dissents from the tradition which characterizes this text as a mere redaction of the Expanded Pravda. That the Abbreviated Pravda bears a different name ("Ukaz"), a different arrangement

of articles, together with other innovations, argues that this text deserves separate treatment. Iushkov and Liubimov both had argued differently, but most other modern scholars have accepted the view that the Abbreviated Pravda, no matter when or where it emerged, appeared as an independent text whose compilers borrowed from both the Short and Expanded redactions. There is therefore little new here, though the editor tries to update Bilets'kyi's scholarship somewhat.

Chapters 3 and 4, which constitute the heart of the book, concentrate upon the expanded redaction of the Pravda. Under the influence of Kalachov and other scholars before him, Bilets'kyi here allocates space to describing the different types of manuscripts in which the Expanded Pravda may be found, as well as detailing variant readings. Convoy and philology together persuaded the author that six separate redactions attest to the text history of the Expanded Pravda. Bilets'kyi believed that the first redaction appeared no later than 1118, the effort of one author, possibly the former hegumen of the Vydubyts'kyi monastery, Sylvester. This conjecture—and little more than conjecture sustains the argument—depends upon the assumption that the Expanded Pravda came together as a single codex under Volodymyr Monomakh, who saw in the law an instrument with which to unify the Grand Principality, taking special advantage of the election of Sylvester to the Pereiaslavl' episcopal see to systematize and extend Kyivan law (99–100). Evidently mainly on the basis of the convoy, Bilets'kyi preferred the Pushkin fourteenth-century copy, even though the copyist of this text clearly did not understand it, admitting numerous errors and omissions into the manuscript. In a special appendix, Bilets'kyi provides a transcribed text from this copy, corrected from other versions (131–40).

Chapter 5 considers the Short Pravda. Like most scholars before him, Bilets'kyi reckoned that the first section (articles 1–18) was associated with Grand Prince Iaroslav; the second section (articles 19–43) he counted not an independent codex, but only articles generated by Iaroslav's sons to supplement the older text (110). That the Novgorod Chronicles report under the year 1017 that Iaroslav had provided a "charter" for governing Novgorod has convinced some that the Pravda was originally a product of northern Rus'. But Bilets'kyi asserts—without being able to prove—that Iaroslav here was borrowing from a Kyivan text which no longer survives (115); the oldest section of the Short Pravda, which now exists in fifteenth-century copies, therefore can be nothing more than a copy of this now missing original monument of ancient Ukrainian culture.

A final chapter considers some linguistic peculiarities of the Pravda, but is curiously brief and undeveloped. Regretting that no copy of the Pravda survives from the Kyivan lands, Bilets'kyi must confront the language of copies which originated for the most part in the north, especially in the Novgorod lands. Still, he finds some evidence in the exchange of ъ and ь to argue for the "ancient Ukrainian speech" of the earliest Pravda texts (129). The conclusion provides perhaps the best explanation of how the editor and publisher justified publication of a book which survives in incomplete form and which depends upon an outdated informational base. Praising the Rus'ka Pravda as "...the most outstanding monument of Ukrainian culture," the conclusion establishes an odd counterpoint to the epigram, which quotes Leonid

Kravchuk to the same effect. But in attempting to appropriate the Rus'ka Pravda for Ukrainian culture, this book has done little to advance our understanding of this important text of Rus' history.

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THE LAWS OF RUS'—TENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES. Translated and edited by *Daniel H. Kaiser*. The Laws of Russia, Series 1: Medieval Russia, vol. 1. Salt Lake City, Utah: Charles Schlacks, Jr., 1992. lxviii, 376 pp.

One of the prevailing notions most Western scholars have inherited from history writing in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union is that all of Rus' is properly studied as a component of Russian and, then, Soviet history. While a minority of scholars has continued to challenge that framework, preferring instead to maintain, as Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi did, the distinctions between the various regions of Rus', their views have not been fully accepted into mainstream scholarship. Since the nineteenth century, the claim has been made that Russians were responsible for the greatness of Kyivan Rus' and that they somehow migrated *en masse* to the north to set up the Russian state. As long as the Russian Empire and Soviet Union existed, with Ukraine and Belarus' as part of a larger entity, a justification was made that these areas of Rus' were part of a larger historical phenomenon—the history of the Russian state. As a result, early Rus' has been studied mostly from the point of view of what it contributed to later Russian history and culture—language, literature, religion, laws, etc.—rarely as an entity in its own right. This viewpoint skewed the study of early Rus' to the extent that those aspects of early Rus' that did not contribute to Russian history and culture were considered to be not part of Rus' history and culture either. American scholars, in general, have adopted this approach to the study of early Rus'. The work under review is a case in point.

Daniel H. Kaiser's book provides translations (with facing pages in Cyrillic) of Rus' laws from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries. These are indeed Rus' laws of that period, but they are not all the Rus' laws, nor are they a representative sampling of those laws. Nineteen of the twenty-seven texts and redactions presented and translated here are taken from volumes one through three of *Pamiatniki russkogo prava* (Moscow, 1952), edited by A. A. Zimin. Those volumes had a pattern of selection, which Kaiser continued to follow in the eight other texts he included that are not from those volumes—two *gramoty* of Grand Prince Vasilii I with the metropolitan, four thirteenth- and fourteenth-century treaties of Novgorod with Tver', a regulation on theft, and a statute on witnesses, which was a Rus' translation of a Byzantine law.

Laws that governed people and areas of Rus' when those laws did not become part of Muscovite Russian law are excluded. For example, except for the tenth-century Kyivan treaties with the Byzantine Empire, which appeared in the *Povest' vremennykh let*, agreements with governments outside Rus' are excluded. Lithuanian charters of privilege to particular towns, and land charters, are excluded. Official compilations, such as those of Casimir's Charter of 1447 and Alexander's Charter of 1492, are excluded. Magdeburg laws, which governed towns and cities such as Brest (1380), Vilnius (1387), and Polatsk (1498), are excluded. Laws governing Galicia and Volhynia are excluded. Laws of the steppe tribes and Mongols who governed large expanses of Rus' territory and people are excluded. All these are excluded in favor of a Russian nationalist criterion of selection. Or, as the "Publisher's Preface" states it: "Volume 1 includes the most important antecedent legislation..." (p. vii), that is, antecedent to the establishment of the Russian state.

This selection pattern detracts from an otherwise well-done book and the talents of Kaiser as translator. The translations are very good and based on his more than ten years of teaching and using these texts with students at Grinnell College, where he is Professor of History. The glossary is helpful with Rus' terms in transliteration as used in the translations. The select bibliography includes the translator's own *The Growth of the Law in Medieval Russia* (Princeton, 1980), for which he won a prize from the Medieval Academy of America. Richard Hellie, Professor of Russian history at the University of Chicago, has contributed a 30-page preface, entitled "Russian Law from Oleg to Peter the Great," which stands as an introduction to the three volumes of Series I. Students will find the book useful.

A final word must regretfully be said about the reproduction quality of the volume, which in general is poor. The typeface is not sharp or clear. Reproductions of illustrations are blurred and difficult to make out. There may be an explanation for this but there is no excuse.

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UKRAINIAN PAST, UKRAINIAN PRESENT. Selected Papers from the Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Harrogate, 1990. Edited by *Bohdan Krawchenko*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

Editor Bohdan Krawchenko has chosen nine papers from the Harrogate Congress that range in coverage from the early nineteenth century to the March 1990 elections and across the disciplines of history, politics, demography, and literature. The first three contributions treat problems of Ukrainian identity in Russian-ruled Ukraine and suggest new insights into the Russian-Ukrainian encounter. Orest Pelech examines the careers of the "Ukrainian triumvirate" of Kostomarov, Kulish, and Shevchenko in the

context of the reforms of the Minister of Popular Enlightenment, S. S. Uvarov. Ironically, the emergence of a Russian nationalist model of imperial citizenship under Nicholas I was part of a "cultural revolution" that also influenced a fundamental shift of attitudes among the pioneers of modern Ukrainian national self-assertion. Pelech appeals for a reevaluation of the career and contribution of Uvarov and situates the cultural revolution in the contemporary Russian and European intellectual movements. Catherine Clay compares the divergent visions of the relationships between Russian and Ukrainian identities articulated by two early Ukrainian ethnographers, G. P. Danilevskii and A. S. Afanas′ev-Chuzhbinskii. Both men were commissioned by Grand Duke Constantine Nikolaevich and his Naval Ministry during the 1850s and 1860s. Although both ethnographers refuted the views of Vissarion Belinskii that "Little Russians" were never a people, Afanas′ev-Chuzhbinskii advocated Ukrainian assimilation into imperial Russia as the means for attaining prosperity and modernization, while Danilevskii was far more critical of Russian rule and rejected assimilation. Even Afanas′ev-Chuzhbinskii, however, advised imperial authorities to be more accommodating toward local traditions and institutions. Clay describes these two ethnographers not as "Ukrainian nationalists in the modern sense," but sees them expressing "their Ukrainian identity in a new way." The third paper on nineteenth-century intellectual history is Alexis E. Pogorelskin's exploration of A. N. Pypin's sympathetic views of the Ukrainian question during the mid-1880s. Pypin emerges as a rare Russian intellectual intensely interested not only in the Ukrainian question, but also in Polish cultural matters and critical of the emerging cultural chauvinism in Russian circles. Pogorelskin argues that Kostomarov and Drahomanov were major influences, even though Pypin denied Kostomarov's contribution. All three essays demonstrate broad familiarity with both Russian and Ukrainian intellectual history and a very fruitful approach to relations between the two cultures.

Two papers deal with demographic debates, Ihor Stebelsky's on Ukrainian migration to Siberia before 1917, and Serhii Pirozhkov's on population loss in the 1930s and 1940s. Stebelsky has focused on a relatively underresearched problem, that of the Eastern diaspora of Ukrainians in Siberia (and Kazakhstan), and reopens the discussion about the causes for the decline in Ukrainian-identified settlers in Siberia between the 1897 and 1926 censuses. Earlier studies by Volodymyr Kubijovyc posited that the discrepancy was the result of bias or underrepresentation by the census-takers in 1926. Stebelsky tests an alternative thesis, that Ukrainian migrants suffered disproportionately high losses as a result of illnesses, epidemics, and death, the long and arduous voyage, and the hostility of Russian migrants and officials. After reviewing the statistics, Stebelsky rejects his alternative thesis in favor of either linguistic assimilation or a census bias. Pirozhkov takes advantage of recent archival revelations about demographic statistics and long-ignored Soviet demographic studies from the 1930s to reconsider the painful debate about Stalin-era population losses in Ukraine. For the period 1929–59 he estimates a demographic loss of about 14.6 million people; these figures are lower than those offered by Robert Conquest, higher than those of S. Kul′chyts′kyi, and closest to the emigre scholar S. Maksudov (Alex Babyonyshev). Pirozhkov cautions that these recalculations must still be considered

preliminary, since the "real statistics of the natural movement of the population are missing."

Two authors examine twentieth-century Ukrainian history, Rex Wade on Kharkiv in 1917 and Taras Hunczak on the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during World War II. In both cases, Ukrainians were caught between powerful outside forces and had to make painful, very often fatal, choices of allies and survival strategies. Wade outlines the politics of the Kharkiv Military Revolutionary Council after the Bolshevik triumph in October 1917; local revolutionaries were pulled between socialist and nationalist appeals before the Bolsheviks' armed seizure of power in December of that year. Wade traces the complicated relations among the various parties and institutions contending for power in Ukraine: the Bolsheviks in Petrograd, the Central Rada, and Kharkiv adherents of either alternative. Hunczak examines German, American, and Ukrainian archival materials to reconsider the relations of the OUN and UPA with German military and security forces. He stresses the tragic splits of the Ukrainian population during this conflict and the ultimate powerlessness of independence fighters before either the German or Soviet invaders.

The final two papers examine recent Ukrainian politics. Taras Kuzio identifies the origins of "civil society" in Ukraine under Gorbachev in the informal groups that emerged after 1985. He highlights the contribution of amnestied political prisoners (especially the Ukrainian Helsinki Union), ecological, culturological, and church groups. Kuzio offers a preliminary periodization of the history of informal groups: from the first half of 1987 to late 1988, when former prisoners of conscience provided values and organizational skills for autonomous groups that culminated in the first popular front- movement (Rukh) as a broadly based coalition; from late 1988 to 1989, the consolidation of Rukh with the defection of the mainstream intelligentsia to the opposition. Peter J. Potichnyj surveys the March 1990 elections in Ukraine, which resulted in the first strong showing of candidates of the oppositional Democratic Bloc. Potichnyi summarizes the electoral process itself, the platforms of the major competing groups and parties, and analyzes the voting patterns in some regions.

The papers in this volume illustrate the vitality of Ukrainian studies in the United States and Canada and suggest several ways in which "mainstream" students of post-Soviet history and politics can integrate the non-Russian populations into their research. Even before the breakup of the Soviet Union, Alexander Motyl appealed for comparative nationality studies to address the longstanding Russocentric imbalance of Sovietology (*Slavic Review*, Spring 1989). Surely now such appeals should no longer have to be issued. *Ukrainian Past, Ukrainian Present* is a very suitable introduction for the generalist seeking some orientation among the major issues in Ukrainian and post-Soviet studies.

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VON DEN ZAREN ADOPTIERT: DIE DEUTSCHEN KOLONISTEN UND DIE BALKANSIEDLER IN NEURUSSLAND UND BESSARABIEN, 1751–1914. Schriften des Bundesinstituts für ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte, vol. 2. By *Detlef Brandes*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1993. 549 pp., index, bibliography. ISBN (Cloth) 3-486-56014-X)

Imperial Russia's decision to settle foreign colonists on the newly acquired lands north of the Black Sea in the late eighteenth century resulted in an ethnic diversity that was unparalleled within the empire. By the mid-nineteenth century, Ukrainian and Russian peasants had settled alongside German-speaking Lutherans, Catholics, and Mennonites, as well as Serbs, Greeks, Bulgarians, Jews, Poles, and others.

The existence of so many foreign colonists within the region sparked an active debate on their various contributions to the empire, in which state officials, scholars, publicists, and the colonists themselves participated. Some praised colonists for their diligence and hard work, and commended them as worthy of emulation. Others—most evident at the end of the nineteenth century—condemned colonists as privileged, foreign parasites who lived at the expense of the surrounding peasant population.

What is so striking, then, is the deafening silence which has followed from this vital discussion in the twentieth century. Even E. I. Druzhinina, the noted Russian historian of southern Ukraine, has largely ignored colonist contributions, while the primary attention of the Western scholarly community has been directed to the histories of specific religio-ethnic groups. The last important study of the overall foreign colonist experience in southern Ukraine has remained A. A. Klaus' *Unsere Kolonien*, published in Odessa in 1887.

In this respect alone, Detlef Brandes has produced a valuable study of the German and Balkan colonists in New Russia and Bessarabia (present-day southern Ukraine and Moldova). All scholars working on the history of this important region will find it to be an important resource for their own investigations. Brandes' impressive collection of sources includes archival collections from Kishenev, Moscow, St. Petersburg, and the Hoover Institution, Stanford, as well as German, Russian, and English-language articles and monographs. He has been especially successful in his utilization of the records of the Imperial Ministries of State Domains and Internal Affairs, housed in the Central State Historical Archives of St. Petersburg.

The main body of the book is divided into seven chapters arranged topically. Unfortunately, these chapters are unevenly weighted in the extreme, and lead directly to an uneven treatment of the subject. The chapters dealing with "Settlement" and "Economic Developments" alone comprise more than half of the text (140 and 120 pages respectively). But by contrast, the important and complex interrelationship between colonists, peasants, and the state apparatus for this entire period is reduced to thirty-two pages. Thus, for example, two pages are devoted to the relationship between

Bulgarian settlers and all other inhabitants of New Russia. The role played by German colonists as imperial agents in the attempt to force seminomadic Nogai Tatars into permanent villages is not addressed. Neither are the multifaceted relations between Jews and either the German or Balkan colonists.

Similarly, the basis for the colonist success in New Russia and Bessarabia is discussed in a mere fifteen pages. Within that space, Brandes attempts to consider such large, complex, and interrelated issues as initial settlement privileges, village size, inheritance practices, and the influence of religion and education. Brandes is correct to stress the central role played by colonist inheritance practices, which left larger parcels intact more than was the case in peasant villages, as well as the importance of higher literacy rates, and religious practices which celebrated sobriety, simplicity, and order. But, given the brevity of space, Brandes appears content simply to compile data and assert hypotheses rather than to develop carefully constructed arguments and stake out theoretical positions.

In the same light, this study would have benefited from a concluding chapter, where Brandes could have considered the overall significance of the colonist experience in this region for the entire prerevolutionary period. Indeed, the reader expects as much, given the author's assertion, in the foreword, that this particular experience directly paralleled that of the settlement of the American west. This may prove to be the case, though any discussion of it is curiously missing from the text itself. Instead, the book abruptly ends in the midst of a narrow discussion on the increased suspicion directed by the Russian state toward its Germans in the early twentieth century.

These criticisms aside, those chapters which take the time to develop their theses, and utilize the available source base, are full of insight and new perspectives. The author successfully demonstrates, for example, that the initial settlement of foreigners in New Russia was less the result of systematic planning than of a willingness by authorities to modify and improvise. In the end, the colonists attracted to this region were primarily Christians wooed from the Ottoman empire, and the German-speaking settlers of middle Europe. Brandes has clearly connected the policies being developed in St. Petersburg with the actual experiences of settlers in a new land.

Those experiences were most often difficult, if not deadly, and they are plainly described as such by Brandes. Most colonists were unaccustomed to the sunbaked soils which shattered the wood-based implements brought from other lands with other soils. Water was scarce beyond the river's edge, and the treeless prairies offered neither natural protection from the region's harsh climate nor building materials for their new dwellings. But by the middle of the nineteenth century, Mennonites especially had clearly mastered these difficulties and emerged as "model farmers" far ahead of other colonists and peasants.

Perhaps Brandes' most original contribution is his treatment of colonist land expansion through the purchase of "daughter colonies" and private estates. The former involved community-based attempts to resettle landless villagers onto newly acquired lands within the region. This practice proved to be a mixed blessing. On the one hand, it successfully permitted German colonists to export the internal social crisis that was brewing within their villages. On the other, the dramatic increase in German and

Mennonite land purchases in the late nineteenth century alarmed Russian nationalists and dramatically worsened relations between imperial officials and these previously "adopted" colonists.

Yet these connections, by which seemingly disparate points are integrated into a central argument, are largely absent in Brandes' work. Instead, one is impressed by the disjointed nature of this work. For example, the developments of industry and agriculture are found within the same chapter, but handled discretely, as are the various experiences of Greeks, Bulgarians, Germans, and Mennonites. Any unifying theme which the reader might seek in this, or almost any chapter, is lost in a maze of sections and subsections that are only rarely pulled together.

In a sense, Brandes is to be commended for having placed the pieces of a puzzle onto a table, and for having alerted us to the beauty of its many parts. That accomplishment, given the enormity of this subject in chronological and thematic terms, the source base available, and the historigraphical silence, is no mean feat. One only wishes that more effort had gone into putting the many pieces together, so that the whole picture could have been more easily discerned.

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IUZOVKA AND REVOLUTION, vol. 2, POLITICS AND REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA'S DONBASS 1869–1924. By *Theodore H. Friedgut.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994. xxi, 514 pp. ISBN 0-691-08660-5.

This massive volume is a sequel to the author's earlier volume published in 1989, which, like this volume, was dense with descriptions of the historical Donbas. Unlike the earlier volume, which dealt with life and work, this volume is devoted to politics. The two volumes combine to offer much information on the modern history of the Donbas.

The central thesis of this book is clear: the Russian Empire collapsed because it failed to modernize politically. Friedgut has painstakingly described the agony of economic modernization in an autocratic regime. His focus on the Donbas in general and Iuzovka (named after the Welsh entrepeneur John Hughes, who laid the foundations of present-day Donets'k in the nineteenth century) in particular brings out clearly the conflict between the need for rapid modernization and the determined adherence to traditional autocratic rule. In the Donbas industrial settlements, very few "civilizing urban influences" (p. xvii) existed. The local self-administrative body (*zemstvo*), for example, showed little if any interest in the affairs of workers' settlements, and the industrial firms continued to govern the workers paternalistically up to the outset of the revolution of 1917. Other forms of association, such as trade unions and sick funds, were not allowed to develop, nor did the divided community

ever give birth to an indigenous worker intelligentsia which could have articulated the interests of the working population. After the civil war, the Soviet government continued to rule the Donbas in much the same way as the tsarist government.

This is not a new interpretation of the Russian revolution. Curiously, however, Friedgut has devoted much space to the potential of the Donbas for developing into a civilized society. He discusses in detail various institutions (schools, clubs, dumas, cooperatives, working-class associations, etc.) which could have exerted "civilizing urban influences." Friedgut contends that in the early years of NEP, the Donbas still retained the possibility for creating a new, civic society. His sympathy with Iuzovka and his regret over its failure to become a civilized city are evident throughout this book.

The thesis of the book is clearly stated, but the bulk of the book is confusing. Friedgut constantly goes back and forth between the inevitability of failure and the potential for success. Thus on the one hand, in chapter 2 one reads of "The maturation of the Working Class" but in the Conclusions, on the other, that "no mature workers' movement could develop" (p. 468). Moreover, his sympathy with the town and its people prevents him from analyzing in any detail the sheer brutality of everyday life and politics in the Donbas. For example, he mentions but does not discuss the thesis of Charters Wynn's book on the combination of worker radicalism and antisemitism (Charters Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms: The Donbass-Dnepr Bend in Late Imperial Russia, 1870–1905* [1992]). One reads much on production figures and institutions but little on the people.

Another problem is the lack of any understanding of Ukrainian factors; this volume barely mentions them. In the earlier volume, Friedgut dismissed the Ukrainian dimensions of Donbas life: "The Donbas is geographically within the Ukraine, yet the Ukrainian population of the area plays only a marginal and largely reactive role in our history." Hence comes the title of the volume, "Russia's Donbas." Part of the Donbas is geographically in Russia, but Iuzovka (Donets'k) was in Katerynoslav gubernia in the old regime and in Ukraine under the Soviet regime.

Friedgut's scholarly judgement is also at times questionable. For example, he contends confidently that Iuzovka was called Trotsk for several months during 1923 before it was renamed Stalino in 1924. This does make for a good story because, if this were true, Iuzovka would have embodied in its name the two contending leaders of the country: Trotsky and Stalin. Yet Friedgut has found "no archival documents, newspapers, memoirs, or other references confirming this renaming of Iuzovka [Trotsk]" (p. 456). Nor has anyone else, as far as I know. The only reference Friedgut has found is a 1989 newspaper article on Trotsky which cites no source and is in general unreliable.

These problems notwithstanding, Friedgut's new book is a welcome addition to the small literature on this important region in the Ukrainian-Russian border area.

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THE JEWISH MINISTRY AND JEWISH NATIONAL AUTONOMY IN UKRAINE. By *Moses Silberfarb*. Kyiv: 1918/19. Translated by *David H. Lincoln*. New York: Aleph Press, 1993. 115 pp.

The dissolution of the USSR and the independence of the former Soviet republics have turned public attention to the land and the people of Ukraine. These new circumstances have, not least of all, created the intellectual space and opportunity to retrieve hitherto little-known chapters of Ukrainian history from oblivion, as this book amply demonstrates. Its particular value extends beyond the realm of history as a discipline, as Taras Hunczak correctly argues in a brief introduction, for David H. Lincoln, rabbi of the Park Avenue Synagogue in New York City, intends to make a contribution to present-day understanding between Jews and Ukrainians with his translation of the political memoirs of Moses Silberfarb. Moved and fascinated by the fact that contemporary Ukrainian society has overcome the antisemitism of the past, Lincoln sees new hope for the future. In pursuing the opportunities for a better relationship, Jews as well as Ukrainians can learn from their common history, which, as he stresses, was not marked only by discrimination and injustice with regard to the minority. For him, the history of the Central Rada and the UNR (Ukrainian People's Republic) offers a noteworthy example of the positive aspects of the past, and for this reason Lincoln translated Silberfarb's memoirs from Yiddish into English.

In his memoirs—subdivided into five parts—the first Minister of Jewish Affairs in Ukraine outlines the institutional development of his Ministry as well as the course of the debates and political decision-making on the type and extent of autonomous rights which were supposed to have been guaranteed to Jewish citizens. "Supposed to have been"— because the Jewish Vice-Secretariat (later General Secretariat, and then, with the independence of the UNR, Ministry), like the other Ukrainian government institutions of the time, began to apply itself to its concrete tasks only in the autumn of 1917, and the quickening pace of events in the aftermath of the October revolution left the UNR little opportunity to actually exercise political power. Nevertheless, the existence of such an institution was of immense importance, because it allowed the Jewish population to express all its needs to the Ministry. The significance of this institution was also related to the fact that, from its inception as a Vice-Secretariat, it was conceived of as an autonomous political organ of the minority and was also recognized as such by the parties of the Rada.

Silberfarb's presentation forcefully and clearly evokes the general sense of political breakthrough and optimism which inspired the work of the officials of this governing body in those heady months of 1917. And rightly so, for its competence extended not only to the realm of education and culture, but also to the important sphere of the organs of Jewish self-government on the national and local level. The author does not, however, ignore the fact that the disunity of the Jewish parties and movements, as well

as the slow pace of the legislative process, hindered and even thwarted the realization of the fundamental goals of the Rada.

The fiercely-debated law on national-personal autonomy, passed by the Rada in January 1918, showed the fragility of the relationship between the Jewish minority and the Ukrainian statehood of that time. Although unanimously accepted, it no longer held any attraction for the Jewish parties, for with the Fourth Universal the UNR had set off on the path of separatism. This act found little support among the minority population, which—to put it simply—feared the growth of nationalist tendencies, especially in the wake of the first effectively antisemitic sanctions of the UNR's military authorities, which drove the Jewish townspeople of Kyiv into a state of panic. It is therefore not suprising that of the minority political factions, only the Polish Socialist Party voted for the Fourth Universal, while the Jewish parties either abstained or even voted against it. The results were disastrous, leading to the first clashes and excesses against the minority on the streets of Kyiv. Seeing no way to prevent the growing tide of pogroms against his countrymen, Silberfarb resigned. For all practical and political purposes, this point may be seen as the end of the experiment in Ukrainian-Jewish coexistence. In the few months left to the Rada, external circumstances, as well as the complicated domestic political situation of all its participants, prevented the renewal of the policy which had been pursued with such energy and confidence in 1917.

History can repeat itself—both for good and for ill. There is also evidence that at least some nations are capable of learning from their history. The Ukraine of today belongs in this category, at least insofar as the treatment of minorities is concerned. And this, in the light of the various other insecurities which afflict not only the states of Eastern Europe, is a sign of notable progress. Rabbi Lincoln's motivation in translating these highly informative memoirs was to strengthen the historical foundations for this progress in relations between Jews and Ukrainians. He deserves our thanks. One would hope that this book will find a wide audience. The reading public will also discover much of interest in the three statutes and declarations which are reproduced in the appendix and which further enhance Silberfarb's account. Since this translation was intended for a wide audience, it would, however, have made sense to provide either a more comprehensive introduction, or else annotations where appropriate to help clarify the complex interrelationships of the events of those years for readers less familiar with Ukrainian history.

Translated by Leonid Heretz

Rudolf A. Mark
Heidesheim

A JOURNEY THROUGH ILLUSIONS. By *Kurt I. Lewin*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Fithian Press, 1994. 461 + 5 maps, 11 plates. ISBN (cloth) 1-56474-057-9. $24.95.

These are the memoirs of an extraordinary life, or rather lives, of a Jew from L'viv. Born Kurt Yitshak Lewin, Rabbi's son, he survived the Holocaust by hiding his Jewish identity as Roman Paulus Mytka, Ukrainian Studite monk. In the immediate aftermath of the war, he hid his similarly unpopular Ukrainian identity and entered the Polish army under the name Roman Matkowski. After emigrating to Israel and using his Hebrew name Yitshak, he became a decorated war hero and career officer in the Israeli Defence Forces. Finally, Lewin moved to the United States, where he achieved distinction as an international management consultant. Throughout his tumultuous experiences, Lewin writes (p. 441) that the "compass that guided me all these years was the memory of the encounter with Metropolitan Andrew Graf Szeptycki and his brother Clement, the two spiritual giants who by their example charted a course for many."

Immediately upon the German conquest of L'viv in the summer of 1941, Ukrainian mobs began to attack Jews in the streets. Alarmed, Lewin's father put on his ceremonial garb and went to ask for the assistance of the Metropolitan, with whom he had had regular audiences during the previous Soviet occupation. Sheptyts'kyi immediately sent out clergy to try to quell the violence, and asked Rabbi Lewin to take shelter with him. Lewin refused, unwilling to abandon his family and the Jewish community. Outside, he was seized by hooligans and taken to Brygidki prison, where Jews were being forced to remove the charred and mutilated bodies of prisoners slaughtered by the NKVD (mostly Poles and Jews, according to Lewin). Sixteen-year-old Kurt was among the Jews at Brygidki that fateful day (p. 37):

> Suddenly I saw my father walking alone, beaten with rifle butts by German soldiers and driven to join others in the corner. He intoned "Shma Yisrael" [Deuteronomy 6.4, traditionally recited at the hour of death], in which other prisoners joined loudly. A merciful man working next to me grabbed me and covered my eyes when the machine guns opened fire.

Kurt and one younger brother were taken into Sheptyts'kyi's Studite monasteries, along with some 150 other children. The remainder of the Lewin family chose to stay in the ghetto and did not survive the Holocaust.

Lewin's memoirs reveal the deep impression that the Studite way of life made upon him. Though he was never pressured to convert, he felt great affinity to the austere spiritual life of the monks. Lewin reflects with much feeling on the monks' midnight recitations of the Psalms he knew well in the original Hebrew. He maintained contact with several monks after the war, including one whom he rescued from repatriation to the USSR, ironically by disguising him as a Jew. Lewin was also very active in assisting the beatification process of the Metropolitan, and testified before a Tribunal in Rome regarding Sheptyts'kyi's rescue of Jews.

While the central aspect of the work is Lewin's Ukrainian experiences, a good portion of the material deals with his life in Israel, the United States, and Japan. The sections on Israel are particularly interesting, as his wartime experiences put him in contact with many future leaders of the state. His vignettes of Rabin and Ben-Gurion are entertaining, and his controversial treatment of Moshe Dayan will no doubt be of interest to Israeli military historians.

This fascinating memoir deserved a stronger editorial hand. The chapters, which seem to have been written over several years, contain repetitious material, as well as several stylistic and other errors. For example, a church with "small windows that provided little light, was almost dark." The English caption to a Polish-language document issued by the Chief Rabbinate (*Główny Rabinat*) reads "issued by the General Staff of the Polish Army." The notes, while helpful, are too long to be merely informative and too imprecise to be scholarly.

With these caveats, however, Lewin's memoirs are a powerful example of the great anguish and dislocation that Jews and other inhabitants of western Ukraine experienced during the war years. While much of the material on Sheptyts'kyi has already appeared in his earlier Hebrew-language work *Aliti mi-Spetsyah* [*I Immigrated to Israel from La Spezia*] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1947), the English version, along with the treatment of his role in the beatification process, will prove useful to scholars of Ukrainian Catholicism. Lewin's detached style is well suited to his exceptionally dramatic life, and this work may also have some popular appeal to students of the region in general.

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THE THIRD REICH AND UKRAINE. By *Wolodymyr Kosyk*. Translated by *Irene Rudnytzky*. Studies in Modern European History, New York: Peter Lang, 1993, xvi, 669 pp. + maps, documents, index and bibliography. ISBN (cloth) 0-8204-1964-8. $63.95.

The Third Reich and Ukraine is the most extensive synthesis of Nazi policies toward Ukraine, the German occupation of Ukraine (mainly in the civilian zones), and Ukrainian nationalists' activities during World War II. Kosyk, who was born in Ukraine and holds doctorates in international studies from the Sorbonne and in history from the Ukrainian Free University (Munich), edited an earlier collection of documents on this topic, *Das Dritte Reich und die ukrainische Frage: Dokumente, 1934–1944* (Munich, 1985). Here he "aims to reconstruct the policies of the Reich on

the Ukrainian question and the occupation of Ukraine, against the backdrop of the general policies of Hitler regarding Eastern Europe" (p. xiv). In doing so, Kosyk asks: "What exactly were the German plans concerning Eastern Europe and, more particularly, Ukraine? In what way did the Germans begin to execute these plans? What was the nature of the domination of Nationalist Socialist Germany in Ukraine? How did the Ukrainian national forces react to this domination? To what extent did Ukrainians contribute to the defeat of Nationalist Socialist Germany?" (p. xvi). Thanks to the wealth of German documentation, Kosyk can answer the first three questions in detail and with relative precision. However, the last two questions, which place Kosyk's work in the historiography of this topic, expose the author's tendency to magnify the force of Ukrainian nationalism and reduce the significance of varied Ukrainian responses to Nazi rule.

In the opening pages of *The Third Reich and Ukraine*, Kosyk asserts that by the thirteenth century the etymology of the name "Ukraine" "very quickly took on the meaning of 'our country.'" Characteristically, he writes in his concluding sentence that "Ukrainians had fought vigorously for their freedom and, to a large extent, contributed to the defeat of Hitler's Germany" (p. 447). In Kosyk's story, two archetypes take center stage: the Ukrainian as passive victim, and the Ukrainian as nationally driven freedom fighter. Those exceptions who may have worked in the German administration, joined the Soviet partisans, or participated in the massacre of the Jews, slip into the background. Except for his treatment of Ukrainian nationalist activities, Kosyk's depictions of Ukrainian reactions resemble the impressionistic images of Ukrainians found in his leading primary source, captured German documents.

Kosyk's account is more thoroughly researched than Nicholas Chirovsky's *Ukraine and the Second World War* (New York, 1985), but these texts share controversial subjects: misperceptions of Ukrainian nationalism, and Allied abandonment of the Ukrainian cause. Devoid of any political power by not being a "nation," Ukraine was viewed as either a potential Nazi or Soviet possession, and Ukrainian nationalism was disparaged as a German invention. Implicitly Kosyk challenges wartime "misperceptions" of the illegitimacy of a Ukrainian state and Ukrainian nationalism by spotlighting the nationalist struggle and stressing that both the Germans and the Soviets were surprised by the actual scope and strength of Ukrainian national resistance movements, especially the influential Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists led by Stepan Bandera (OUN-B), and its military arm, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The *Litopys: UPA* collection offers Kosyk an invaluable source for recreating this brave liberation struggle. Most specialists of eastern front World War II history may be familiar with the formidable force of the partisan movement, but not the extent to which Ukrainian nationalism was caught in the crossfire of Nazi-Soviet warfare.

As for the controversial theme of Allied abandonment, Kosyk writes that Roosevelt "admired Stalin and the Russians and did not see anything improper in dividing with them the spoils of victory not only in Europe but also in the rest of the world" (p. 378). This portrait of Roosevelt is certainly disputable, if not an outright distortion. Roosevelt was keenly aware of Stalin's shady character and the threat of a sovietized

Eastern Europe; however, the Nazi menace was much more immediate and loomed larger. Kosyk recognizes that the Allied commitment to Germany's military defeat resulted in Anglo-American concessions in Eastern Europe, but at the various conferences such as Yalta, he protests, concern for the Ukrainians and their desire for sovereignty was absent.

The bulk of Kosyk's study—German policies toward Ukraine—is relatively balanced and detailed. Very few existing accounts of the war in the East, such as Alexander Dallin's and the more recent work by Timothy Mulligan (*The Politics of Illusion: German Occupation Policy in the Soviet Union, 1942–43* [New York, 1988]), address the diverse attempts of various Nazi civilian and military leaders to reform or defend the racial and colonial policies in occupied Ukraine. The Nazi debate on *Ostpolitik*, which focused on Ukraine, generated reams of reports and, paradoxically, kept the Nazi bureaucracy in motion while the German war machine sputtered on the eastern front. Kosyk describes the two conflicting ideas at the heart of this debate as "imperialistic" and "moderate, European, more or less favorable to the independence of peoples" (p. 444). These ideas were best embodied in the two leaders vying for political control over this treasured *Lebensraum*—Erich Koch, Reichscommissar of Ukraine, and Alfred Rosenberg, Reichsminister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. According to Kosyk, "Hitler refused to listen to Rosenberg's proposals," but "in Hitler's general quarters Koch was called the 'second Stalin' and considered the only one capable of carrying out his duties in Ukraine" (p. 441).

These contrasting portraits of the influential leaders governing Ukrainian policy and the power struggles in the Nazi hierarchy are relatively well known; however, Kosyk advances our knowledge of the dialogue between the leading Nazi officials and the leading Ukrainian nationalists. While the sheer volume of the German reports on reforming Ukrainian policy belies their ultimate impotence, Kosyk finds that the debate on *Ostpolitik* was not strictly a German matter: opportunists, such as the nationalist leader Stepan Bandera, tried to manipulate Nazi policy in their quest for Ukrainian sovereignty.

Despite Kosyk's lengthy treatment of Nazi-Ukrainian relations, the reader may be disappointed because he leaves some important interpretive issues unresolved. He emphasizes the brutal Nazi attempt to wipe out Ukrainian nationalism but does not explore why the Germans allowed the OUN-B's most charismatic leader, Bandera, to survive the war. Overall, it is not clear how German opportunism and strategy exploited Ukrainian nationalist movements. Kosyk also lumps together Ukrainian rebels with Ukrainian nationalists, which assumes that the rebels who desired security and safety from Nazi and Soviet wrath were ideologically imbued with Ukrainian nationalism. And he writes off Ukrainian collaboration as less objectionable because "it was individual and personal collaboration not a collective political collaboration ordered by a Ukrainian government or political party" (p. 161). Given that Kosyk's aim is to reconstruct Nazi policy in Ukraine, it is regrettable that he omits the Nazis' most atrocious policy, the Final Solution. Indeed, he not only glosses over the topic of Jewish-Ukrainian relations, but also argues, in a similarly dubious manner as Arno Mayer (*Why Did the Heavens not Darken?: The "Final Solution" in History* [New

York, 1988]), that Hitler's ideology was more anti-Bolshevik than antisemitic. In Hitler's "vague" notion of *Lebensraum*, Kosyk suggests, the Jewish Question was something of an afterthought.

This text offers an impressive array of primary sources from German, French, Russian (Moscow), and Ukrainian (Kyiv) archives and an appendix of nearly 200 documents—abridged and translated by Kosyk. Most of these published documents are German reports, with some interesting exceptions such as diplomatic reports from the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ukrainian nationalist proclamations and resolutions, Soviet estimates of damage incurred in Ukraine by the "fascist invaders," and a Ukrainian tally of human losses during the war. Despite this broad range of documentary material, Kosyk finds that "the most valuable source for the study of the evolution of the situation in eastern occupied territories is in the reports of the Einsatzgruppen and Einsatzkommandos" (p. 117). As a result, one of the SD's more formidable foes in occupied Ukraine—Stepan Bandera's partisan units—figures prominently in Kosyk's interpretation. But how representative is the Bandera faction of Ukrainian politics, or the reactions of Ukrainians in general? Documents in Ukrainian provincial archives, which were unavailable to Kosyk during his research, seem to indicate that Ukrainian nationalism was not as monolithic a force as he portrays.

Kosyk's narrative does not always flow smoothly and lucidly. There are some distracting errors such as the misspelling of Hans-Heinrich Lammers, Bach-Zelewski and Admiral Horthy, and inaccurate dates such as the Treaty of Riga (p. 8). He also mistakenly writes that the United States declared war on Germany on December 11th and that 5.5 million German and allied soldiers manned the momentous Operation Barbarossa. Citations in the text are sometimes unclear, especially a reference which states "National Archives" with no record group identification (p. 21).

The Nazi occupation of Ukraine is essentially a tragic story of desperate tactics of survival and abominable patterns of mass execution resulting in about 2.5 million military and 5.5 million civilian deaths, according to Kosyk's calculations. In their "human losses" as well as their "freedom fighting," he concludes, the Ukrainians "contributed" significantly to the defeat of Hitler's Germany. Notwithstanding some of Kosyk's uncritical generalizations about Ukrainian nationalism, minimization of Ukrainian collaboration and factual errors, his political history is a good starting point for scholars who are pursuing the German sources on this topic. Much more work, however, remains to be done—especially from the social perspective. Not until the nationalist paradigm and the monolithic perceptions of Ukrainian society are discarded will the complexities of Ukrainian politics and identity during World War II emerge.

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PARASHAT DEMYANYUK. ALIYATO U-NEFILATO SHEL MISHPAT RAAVA. [The Demjanjuk Affair. The Rise and Fall of a Show Trial.] By *Yoram Sheftel*. Tel Aviv: Adam, 1993. 411 pp. + 12 plates.

Yoram Sheftel was Demjanjuk's principal attorney for most of his ordeal in the Israeli courts. These memoirs, a detailed and polemic recollection of this internationally publicized trial, represent a major contribution to the growing literature on the dramatic proceedings.

Sheftel sees the guilty verdict and the decision of the district court to impose the death penalty as the result of deliberate attempts by American, Soviet, and Israeli officials to misrepresent the truth, with the tacit cooperation of Polish and German authorities. He argues that the true identity of the infamous "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka was known and intentionally hidden for various political reasons by each of these states. These types of arguments have not contributed to Sheftel's popularity in Israel, where he is sometimes referred to as "Yoram the Terrible." One of the chapters describes the vicious attack he survived when acid was thrown in his face, nearly blinding him.

Much of the drama occurred outside the courtroom, including the mysterious death of another member of the defense team and the attempted suicide of a witness. The most powerful chapters deal with the research that went into the successful appeal which established that one Ivan Marchenko was in fact the sadistic Ivan of Treblinka, and not Demjanjuk. Sheftel describes his visit with the aged prostitute who regularly serviced Marchenko while stationed at the death camp. He also met with Marchenko's daughter, who broke into tears when she learned for the first time of the cruel acts her father had perpetrated after abandoning his family during the war.

The problems of the evidence, including the question of Soviet forgery and the difficulty in eyewitness testimony after such a long period of time, are discussed in detail and with sophistication. Sheftel's work, however, is seriously lacking in scholarly detachment. Much of the book is dedicated to vilifying his antagonists, in particular Judge Dov Levin, whom Sheftel refers to disparagingly as "Dovele." Sheftel's obvious contempt for the arguments of the prosecution and the conclusions of the judges detracts from an otherwise persuasive presentation.

The Demjanjuk trial awaits comprehensive scholarly study, and these memoirs will undoubtedly constitute an essential primary source for such research. The English and French translations from the Hebrew will be most welcome contributions to the international scholarly community.

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THE KREMLIN AND THE SCHOOLHOUSE. By *Larry E. Holmes.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991. 214 pp. + 8 illus., index, bibliography. ISBN-0-253-32847-0.

The 1990s have witnessed a dizzying series of changes across the former Soviet Union. Within the Russian Federation, the largest successor state to the USSR, groups of radical progressives came to power for a time within the reorganized Ministry of Education. Their goals were ambitious—some would say utopian—in nature: not only to restructure the school system, but to use the new schools to build a better society, composed of people able to act responsibly within a larger context of participatory democracy. By 1994, however, the forward movement in the schools slackened significantly in the face of inadequate resources at the local level to implement the proposed changes.

The dramatic—and widening—gulf between ideal and practice, between the goals of reform-minded educators and an impoverished school system, is not unprecedented in Russian history. Once before in this century, this time in the decade following the Bolshevik revolution, reformers tried to make schools agents of grand social change across the vast Soviet Union. That story is richly documented in *The Kremlin and the Schoolhouse,* by Larry E. Holmes, Professor of History at the University of South Alabama. Holmes is one of a handful of Western scholars studying the history of Soviet education, a field which invites analysis because of the critical role schools assume in a nation's economic development.

In contrast to the 1990s, when progressives in Moscow see socialism as the barometer of authoritarian, state-centered values to be exorcised, the 1920s moved in the opposite direction. In that decade the Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros) devised a radical curriculum to educate the sons and daughters of workers and peasants through interactive learning and thematic instruction. According to Narkompros, the classroom was to instill individual initiative and pupils, teachers, parents, and citizens all were to take part in the development of the school.

What happened afterwards forms the core of the book and its most important message for understanding the dynamics of social change in Soviet Russia. For Narkompros soon discovered that reform from above ran afoul of social and psychological realities below. Change by fiat produced resistance in Leningrad, Kyiv, and other cities as teachers, parents, and even district Soviets responded with disdain and incomprehension to the flood of publications on the new curriculum. Local departments of education found it impossible to furnish schools with textual aids. Teachers, expected by Moscow to perform miracles, remained underpaid, overworked, and poorly trained. In 1926 the average schoolteacher earned less than a textile worker. In 1928, half of Soviet school-age children were illiterate and few youths advanced beyond the third grade.

Eventually a compromise between Narkompros and the nation's teachers was struck when Moscow stopped pursuing a dogma in place of responding to reality. A revised curriculum, one more attentive to the ABCs of learning and to basic discipline,

emerged but, alas, too late. For by 1929 the Soviet Union changed once again as the Communist Party implemented the Five Year Plan with attendant schemes of industrialization and collectivization. For the second time in a decade, Narkompros sought to impose a scheme of instruction tied to vocational learning supplemented with hands-on experience in the factories and farms. Teachers responded as they had earlier in the decade—they either refused to adjust their classroom methods or walked away altogether. In the end, vocational education "foundered from neglect and an absence of resources" (p. 126).

Published in 1991, literally on the eve of the implosion of the USSR, Holmes' study serves as a cautionary tale for schools and society in all successor states to the former Soviet Union. The story recounted here poses a basic question: can schools anywhere effect massive attitudinal and institutional changes, or are they best consigned to the day after, to a time, in other words, when more immediate concerns of economic and political stabilization have been resolved? Democratization, decentralization, and humanization are the watchwords of school reformers of the 1990s. Responding to these ideas, Moscow approved the Russian Federation Law on Education in 1992, designed to set certain standards of instruction. It was to be applied to all schools in 1994. The outcome of that application, as the Holmes study suggests, will depend very much on the attitudes and values of teachers, parents, and ordinary people across Russia. If the new standards do not conform to these values, one can safely predict continued drift and confusion in the world's largest country.

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SHIFTING BORDERS: EAST EUROPEAN POETRIES OF THE EIGHTIES. Edited by *Walter Cummins*. Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Press, 1993. 481 pp., index. ISBN (cloth) 0-8386-3497-4.

In the English-speaking world translations of contemporary works from other literatures, including those of Eastern Europe, are appreciated by many. Even though they often miss the aesthetic dimensions of the originals, they enable us to follow recent developments in these literatures. In the case of the former Soviet bloc countries, such omission is in fact not that inadmissible, since it has been traditionally the "what" rather than the "how" that attracted the attention of Western readers. In the past, however, the latest literary works from that region remained by and large unknown in the West, and were introduced to foreign audiences only after some time, when they were no longer considered truly contemporary. Under these circumstances, the appearance of the volume under review is truly welcome.

The anthology *Shifting Borders* is compiled and edited by the editor in chief of *The Literary Review*, Walter Cummins. It presents "east European poetries of the eighties," or rather representative works of this crucial decade, a turning point in the history of Eastern Europe, a period which led to profound transformations in all spheres of life in the countries of the former Soviet bloc. It is in general very typical of the cultures of Eastern Europe to reflect upon political, social, or economic realities. And it is literature, poetry, and its bards, that occupy a special place in people's hearts, for they speak of issues that are of interest to the community at large. The majority of works presented in this anthology confirm this distinct feature of Eastern European poetries. Contrary to their more individualistic Western counterparts, they share a concern with a number of issues of the day, especially the 1980s' drive for political independence and cultural identity. And it is because of this distinction between the nature of Eastern and Western poetries that Burton Raffel, an author of the brief but stimulating general introduction, calls this collection "an anthology with a difference" (p. 18).

In addition to Raffel's opening section, the volume contains a one-page general editor's preface dealing with the organization of the book as well as two useful appendices, one on the individual chapters' editors and authors of introductions, the other on the translators. They are followed by the last part, Index of Poets. The main body of the book is divided into three parts and twelve chapters, by region (Baltic republics, Central Eastern States, South Slavs) and language (Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian, Ukrainian, Croatian, Serbian, Slovene), respectively. Each chapter opens with an introduction which provides a functional overview of the developments in that country's poetry, including the works by emigre authors. Short biographies of poets represented are appended to chapter introductions. Except for the three chapters dealing with the poetries of the Southern Slavs, each chapter is compiled and introduced by a different editor. As a result, as is often characteristic of collaborative efforts, the work at times lacks general cohesion and balance in favor of "individual editorial visions" (p. 7), and the broadly conceived subject of freedom appears to be the only principle of selection of authors and their poems.

The same holds true in the case of the countries portrayed in the volume. Southern Slavs, for example, are clearly underrepresented, while Polish authors enjoy a very good representation in the volume. Considerable attention is also devoted to Ukrainian poetry, a fact that is quite appropriate since it coincides with the current efforts to establish Ukrainian literary tradition. On the other hand, unique to the collection of Eastern European poetry is the volume's notable absence of works by Russian authors, while a section on Russian poetry of the 1980s would undoubtedly enhance it. Yet the equally Eastern European Russian literature is passed over in silence, as if a political statement were Walter Cummins' intention. Or is it because the West and South Slavic cultures are producing more, and more interesting, literature? Consequently, the reader who expects a rather comprehensive study on "east European poetries of the eighties" may find the title of the work somewhat misleading.

Included in the volume are such well-known authors as the Ukrainians Ivan Drach and Lina Kostenko, the Polish 1980 Nobel Laureate for Literature Czesław Miłosz, the

Estonian Jaan Kaplinski, the Latvian Vizma Belsevica, the Bulgarian vice president Blaga Dimitrova, and the Czech Oldřich Mikulášek, to name just a few. Some of the more interesting poems in the collection include Tomas Venclova's "Dialogue in Winter," Sofia Maidanska's "Letter No. 34," and Krystyna Lars' "Those Who Come to Me in Dreams." On the whole, in spite of its minor shortcomings, the book offers a useful anthology of recent poems from Eastern Europe, many of which deserve a much wider audience. It promotes the appreciation of the decade's place in the literary traditions of the countries represented, and merits the attention of anyone interested in contemporary poetry, especially students and colleagues in Slavic studies who do not read in the original.

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SEEKING GOD: THE RECOVERY OF RELIGIOUS IDENTITY IN ORTHODOX RUSSIA, UKRAINE, AND GEORGIA. Edited by *Stephen K. Batalden*. Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1993. ix, 299 pp. + 1 illus., index. ISBN (Cloth) 0-87580-178-1.

At a time when so much is being written and spoken about the "religious revival" in Russia and other former Soviet republics, it is good to find writers willing to look soberly and dispassionately at the phenomenon and not to flinch from confronting some of the many problems it involves. These arise from nationalism above all, but also from cultural and historical factors which are intelligently appraised here, from the world's first experience of postcommunist politics to—an often-overlooked point—the trauma and disarray inevitably consequent upon the collapse of an empire.

Putting the phrase "religious revival" in quotation marks is not intended to deny, deplore, or denigrate the fact of its existence. However, the term has become so over-employed that caution and restraint are essential. "The Recovery of Religious Identity" in this book's subtitle is a well-chosen phrase. Religious faith never died under the Soviet regime, despite the brutal and sustained communist policy of eradicating it. Following the Soviet government's total change of religious policy during 1988, faith can flourish again in all its various forms—including a number of new, imported ones.

This book does not claim to be comprehensive even within its chosen field of Orthodox Christianity. Each of its twelve essays has a narrow focus. All are thorough, with very full footnotes which scholars will welcome. There is a good index.

This reviewer went straight to the second section, in which three essays cover contemporary developments. Frank Sysyn's contribution, "The Third Rebirth of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Religious Situation in Ukraine, 1989–1991," is succinct, lucid, and authoritative. It provides a very welcome *aide-mémoire* on developments in this church and its relationship with the Moscow Patriarchate and later the Kyiv Patriarchate, soberly assessing the importance of

nationalist aspirations, particularly their effect upon the church at different political levels in different parts of Ukraine. Sysyn helpfully illuminates the difficulties of the UAOC's relationships with other Orthodox churches, including the anomalies of the Canadian diaspora. An appendix updates the chapter to June 1993, as recently as the reader has any right to expect, but leaves many questions open. This essay will provide useful and important background as events continue to unfold.

Fairy von Lilienfeld's "Reflections on the Current State of the Georgian State and Nation" are admittedly inconclusive, the only possible approach at present to that unhappy land. Of all the revolutions of 1989, this seems to have been the least noted and soonest forgotten. The brutal murder at a mass demonstration of twenty-two persons, mostly women and young people, hacked to death by troops with sharpened spades on April 9, 1989 was a trauma from which the country had not recovered before being plunged into civil war. Professor von Lilienfeld points to the leading role of Patriarch Ilia II, who "came to join the people, whom he regards as his flock," in these and other events, but notes that his position on non-Georgian minorities is unclear. She points to the positive steps taken after he became patriarch in 1978 while remaining cautious as to the role the church can be said to have played in national affairs. She gives concise, valuable background on the relationship between national and Orthodox identity in Georgia, and on anti-Russian attitudes.

The explosion of all kinds of publishing following the relaxation of censorship in the Soviet Union has led to an uncertain situation in which unpredictable market forces, above all rampant inflation, are currently dominant. In "The Contemporary Politics of the Russian Bible," Stephen Batalden gives an extremely useful summary of how this has affected the publication of Bibles and other religious literature. In particular, he shows how prerevolutionary decisions on translations have re-emerged to have an important influence today. Support in provision of Scriptures by Western Christian bodies, though not without problems, has been very significant. The "politics" in Batalden's title is exemplified by the role of Konstantin Logachev, whose involvement with the Moscow Patriarchate's biblical work goes back to the 1970s. A key figure in two of the four Bible-translation bodies in which the Patriarchate is involved (two each in Moscow and St. Petersburg), he shows how personal and institutional complications from the recent past can overlay and complicate the textological and economic difficulties that one would expect to find in such a large-scale project carried out under prevailing post-Soviet conditions. As with the two previous essays, the reader is left wondering how long the politically motivated machinations of the recent past will continue to hold sway. If their effects were ever to disappear, religious believers in these countries would then be left to contend "only" with their complex historical and cultural legacy, a task daunting enough in itself.

The six essays in the first part of the book provide useful historical background. Three of them are about the Old Believers, testifying to the continuing fascination this tradition presents for Western scholars. In "*Dvoeverie* and Popular Religion," Eve Levin attempts to salvage the term from its customary usage denoting pagan-Christian syncretism by a re-evaluation of the popular religion of medieval Russia as a folk version of Christianity. The final section contains valuable information on sources

within this field to be found in, first, the Foreign Office and Colonial Office of the British Public Record Office on Russian Landholding in Jerusalem, and second, in the Vatican archives.

The book is dedicated to Fr. Aleksandr Men' and prefaced by an essay on his life and work by Michael A. Meerson. The story of this remarkable priest and his shocking murder on 9 September 1990 are well known. Here is a fully competent account of his wide-ranging activity, showing the extraordinary breadth of knowledge displayed in his writings and conversations. If religious identity is now being recovered in the former Soviet Union, having never died out, it is because it was kept alive by such totally dedicated individuals. Even among those—and their number will never be known—Fr. Aleksandr stands out because of the sheer range of his gifts. He seemed to have inexhaustible energy: it was as though he, like many who die young, knew that his time on earth was limited. At one of the meetings I was privileged to have with him in the 1970s, I remember him saying forcefully, "Time is a wild animal! You must grab it by the throat!" and then laughing richly, a man relaxed with the demanding ministry he had chosen. The words comparing him and Andrei Sakharov bear repetition here: "It seemed that they were the only two people who did not have fear in their eyes. Now in Russia everyone is fearful, from top to bottom. But those two looked straight into the future, with calm and courageous hope. They looked ahead without fear" (p. 24). As long as such as they, few though they might be, are to be found in these lands, there is hope for the future.

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THE SPIRIT OF THE EASTERN CODE. By *George Nedungatt, S. J.* Placid Lecture Series No. 15. Rome and Bangalore: Centre for Indian and Inter-religious Studies and Dharmaram Publications, 1993. xiv, 261 pages. $15.00, Lit. 21,000.

The Christian Church from its first days felt the need to fashion a system of rules and norms which would make it easier to recognize the true followers of Jesus in the sea of Christian sects and movements, and to gather them together in a community of local congregations. Out of this evolved the law of the church, called in accordance with the terminology of the time, *canon law*. The symbiosis of the church with the Roman Empire from the fourth century suggested as a model the marvelously developed Roman law. The succeeding centuries saw a profusion of legislators: councils and synods, the Roman emperors, and later the popes. The resulting mountain of law rendered the application of church law difficult and uncertain, especially in the East

after the Roman Empire had finally succumbed to the Ottomans (1453), and the Eastern Orthodox successor nations in Eastern Europe had disappeared in 1918.

The same legal uncertainty was also felt among those parts of Eastern churches which since the sixteenth century had united themselves with the Roman See. This secured for them the power of the popes, who in virtue of their primatial authority, could sovereignly abrogate, amend, or create new law for them; the united churches could even add their own laws. The Western or Roman Church solved for itself the problem of a confusing agglomeration of laws by a codification, and the first *Codex Iuris Canonici* appeared in 1917. The same was suggested for the twenty-one Eastern Catholic churches or communities, but their codification started in the 1930s, was interrupted by the Second Vatican Council, was resumed in 1972 and was terminated by the promulgation of the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium* (*CCEO*) on October 18, 1990, seven years after the second *Codex Iuris Canonici* of the Latin Church had been promulgated. The *CCEO* is now the common law for all twenty-one Eastern Catholic churches. It will be of special importance to the Ukrainian Catholic Church. For this church is in number of faithful the largest Eastern Church affiliated with the Holy See of Rome, and is just now embarking on the enormously difficult task of re-establishing her ecclesiastical structure after the attempt of total annihilation inflicted upon her for forty years by the Soviet state through the instrumentality of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The process by which a church receives law and makes it its own can be seen in three steps: (1) creation of law, or in this instance, codification; (2) preparation of commentaries to make the text of the law accessible to the members of the churches, bishops, clergy, religious, faithful; and (3) appropriation of the law in daily application, which can be fruitfully done only if the spirit and the meaning of a specific law is brought to confrontation with the true pastoral needs of the church. This calls for study on how a specific law fits into the divine designs for humanity, how it meshes with the teachings of Jesus Christ, how the Apostolic church would have understood it, how the consensus of the church of today looks at the problem solved by the law, and whether there is a tradition and usage of the law in the patrimony of that particular Eastern Christian community.

The book reviewed here attempts the third step in the process of incorporation of the law in the conscience of each Eastern Catholic church. It does not purport to be a systematic commentary which could serve as a manual for answering practical questions, but rather a collection of essays, an attempt of introducing the right philosophical understanding to various norms of the *CCEO*. The spirit in which Professor Nedungatt has written his book is best illustrated by a passage from the first chapter:

> If with the council the long closed windows of the Church were thrown open and a heady sense of freedom pervaded the air, a sense of realism soon set in. It is one thing to have proper ventilation and fresh air, necessary for health; it is a different thing to leave a draft with windows thrown open and catch a cold. But some people were afraid they would catch a cold even with one window ajar, while others felt the space stuffy if a single window was closed. Slowly, the hard-core old guards of canon law began to recognize that the Church of Christ was not simply an

institution made secure by canon law; and it began to dawn in the bards of love and of freedom that for orderly and peaceful corporate existence of all in the Church, law had to spell out and apportion the living space to individuals and institutions (p. 3).

George Nedungatt, S.J, is a native of Kerala in South India, and a son of the Syro-Malabar Church. This Church is not sufficiently known in Christendom, even though it is an Apostolic church, existing in India since the first days of Christianity, seemingly the offspring of the Eastern Syrian Church in Persia. Today this church is the second largest Eastern Catholic community, and was recently recognized as a Major Archiepiscopate, the second such quasi-patriarchal Church after the Ukrainian Major Archiepiscopate of L'viv-Halych. Father Nedungatt became a member of the Society of Jesus, and after years of preparation and specialization, was appointed professor of canon law at the Papal Institute for Eastern Ecclesiastical Studies in Rome. He at once joined the consultors who worked on the codification on the *CCEO* after Vatican II, a labor which lasted twenty-eight years.

A book which wishes to introduce the new Eastern Code can be expected to enumerate its most significant features. This Nedungatt has certainly done, even though not to the degree one would wish. We shall mention some of them:

1. The Catholic Church before Vatican II saw the non-Catholic Christian denominations as not forming part of "the" Church, even though they were composed of baptized Christians. Thus, as late as 1958, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus instructed his members who worked in ecumenism that they should call the Eastern Orthodox *"separated brethren,"* and never speak of them as churches. Vatican II pronounced (1964) a clarification: the Universal Church, founded by Jesus Christ, consists of all persons baptized in any church or community, even though they have not yet acknowledged the primatial authority of the Roman Pontiff, heretofore defined as the *conditio sine qua non* of being recognized as a member of the church. Henceforth all the Eastern non-Catholic churches, as well as the various Protestant churches, are recognized as true churches, even though they are not as yet in full communion with the Roman Pontiff.

This recognition is of great importance for the Eastern Catholic churches. Now they are not simply part of an indistinctly defined Catholic Church, but each of them is recognized as a church in its own right (*sui iuris*), ecclesiologically and legally equal to the Latin Church. Numerous consequences flow from this emancipation, of which only some have been recognized and defined, while others are waiting to be developed in the future.

2. Ecumenism is treated in the *CCEO* in seven canons (cc. 902–908), while the *CIC* has only one (c. 755). Nonetheless, the *CCEO* cannot be said to be a model in this respect. It is true that the Catholic Church has generously permitted the Eastern Orthodox to receive the sacraments in Catholic churches, and Catholics in the Orthodox churches. Yet, the Orthodox had been promised in 1939 by the head of the Papal Commission for the Eastern Codification, Cardinal Massimo Massimi: "When this code appears, every Orthodox who takes note will cry out: Yes, truly, this is our code, this is our law, this is the voice of our fathers." (Nedungatt, p. 236). This did not come to pass. No doubt, the *CCEO* contains much of what the Eastern Orthodox

wished to see, but what the Orthodox would have expected most, a conception of papal power similar to what it was before the Schism, is absent. One can say that the *CCEO* satisfies the practical needs of the Eastern Catholic Churches of today, but one is reminded of the policy of the British in the management of their colonies: they did not interfere with the authority of the native political leaders— kings, maharajas or tribal headmen—as long as they could inspect and control them. Even Pope John Paul II found it appropriate to assure the Orthodox that, in case of a union, laws different from the *CCEO*, and much more to their liking, would be given to them.

3. Another disappointment is the denial of direct jurisdiction to the Eastern Catholic patriarchs and churches over their own faithful who have emigrated from the land of their historical origin to Western Europe, North and South America and Australia. Because of the adverse political situation in Eastern Europe and in the Near East for the last half century, many Eastern Catholics, sometimes one half of an entire church, have permanently settled beyond the ocean, have established parishes, eparchies and metropolias, over which, however, their own patriarchs and synods exercise no authority, and which are under the immediate power of the Roman Pontiff. The claim of the Popes is not without foundation in history, but this does not console these Churches and their faithful.

4. Leafing through the pages of the *CCEO* on the election of bishops by the patriarch (major archbishop) and the synod of bishops, one could have the impression that these churches are truly free in this important task of every church, providing their churches with leaders. However, this would be a mistaken perception; the synods can elect only those candidates who have been approved in advance by the Roman Curia. Nothing demonstrates more clearly than this restriction in what thralldom or tutelage the Eastern Catholic churches are kept by Rome. It shows mistrust by Rome in the ability, nay even loyalty, of the sundry Eastern churches. This interference of the Roman Curia is not so much an elimination of prospective rebels in the Eastern hierarchies as it is a fostering among the members of the clergy, qualified by leadership, talent and schooling as prospective candidates to the episcopacy, of a self-inflicted spirit of servility and groveling subservience toward Rome. There seems to be revealed here a permanent fear on the part of Rome of rebellion and apostasy in the Eastern united churches, which is wholly unjustified by their history in the Catholic Communion.

Nedungatt has recognized the importance of the particular law, to be created and codified by each church. The *CCEO* is shorter than the *CIC* by 206 canons. (Actually even more, if we take into consideration the 150 canons of the *CCEO* which contain the norms on the churches *sui iuris*, i.e., the patriarchal churches, headed by a patriarch or major archbishop, and the rest, metropolitan and episcopal churches, not found in the Latin *CIC*)). Inasmuch as both codes have to address themselves in general to identical concerns of the churches, what is lacking in the *CCEO* has to be supplemented in the particular law of each Eastern church. The *CCEO* mentions in 185 places the necessity or possibility of creating particular law in the sundry churches. The *CCEO* had no intention to override the true peculiarities and traditions of each church, chiefly in the area of liturgy, and had therefore to let each church legislate in

this respect. Of course, for the Latin Church, the *CIC* constitutes common law only with respect to the particular law created by Latin national bishops' conferences, metropolitan provinces and dioceses. In an Eastern church, there is the law of the *CCEO*, common to all the twenty-one Eastern churches, the particular law of metropolitan provinces and of eparchies, in addition to the law created by other juridic entities empowered to enact law, e.g., the institutes of consecrated life (orders, monasteries, etc.).

Having received the *CCEO* in 1990, probably all Eastern Catholic Churches have begun to discuss the creation of particular law, and perhaps also of codifying all their law, which would encompass: (1) the law of the past which was not suppressed by *CCEO*, (2) the law ordered or suggested by the *CCEO*, and (3) other law demanded by the needs of the Church.

Nedungatt has provided very well for this need; chapter thirteen of his book has eighteen pages on particular law. Also the Ukrainian Church, for instance, has instituted discussions in the Synod of Bishops on this topic, and should profit greatly from studying what Nedungatt has said on this score. I mention a few of his eminently practical suggestions: Do not attempt a codification of all particular law of the Church; this will be too complex a chore, and requires years of preparation and a goodly number of professionally trained canonists. Instead, restrict the area of legislation to separate sections of the law, such as to forms of the apostolate of the laity, establishment of texts of liturgical formularies, their translation into other languages, etc.

Nearly all the Eastern Churches have become world-wide communities since World War II, represented on all continents. Each Church will display a natural tendency to tie these distant parts as tightly as possible to the Mother Church by legal bonds. Yet, the denial of some leeway for the diaspora especially, to accommodate their way of life to local exigencies, would result in desertion of the faithful to other churches, especially the numerically preponderant Latin Church. One way of maintaining a close relationship with all parts of the Church is the concession of creating at least some particular law, as for metropolitan provinces (e.g., United States, Canada), and even for separate eparchies in a nation, in order, for instance, to create norms for the management of eparchial and parochial property consonant with the requirements of the local civil law. The patriarch (major archbishop) and his synod of bishops should be guided by the principle of subsidiarity and permit the legislative authority of subordinate levels to take care of their needs by enacting their own particular law.

Nedungatt reminds all Eastern Catholic hierarchies of the axiom expressed in the *CCEO* that law shall be created with the widest collaboration among the bishops, clergy, religious of both sexes, and the laity, perhaps assembled in the periodic patriarchal or eparchial *convocation*, a new structure of law, which deserves to be studied because it is the return of the people of God into the legislative process of their Church (cc. 140–45; 172; 235–42).

Nedungatt closes the chapter on particular law with the reminder, "That the Church is not a democracy is true, but this is not a slogan to ram down the throats of laypeople while relegating them to passivity and submission to a power hungry clericaldom." A

blunt, interesting and startling observation not heard heretofore. Nedungatt's opuscule of some 200 pages of text is full of sparkling, brilliant, enlightening, courageous observations which, on one hand, counteract the quasi-adoration offered in the past to the law of the church, and on the other hand, will caution the practitioners of the law never to lose sight of its grounding in the merciful Gospel of Jesus Christ.

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UKRAINE: PERESTROIKA TO INDEPENDENCE. By *Taras Kuzio* and *Andrew Wilson.* Foreword by Norman Stone. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994. xiv, 260 pp. + 3 maps, 6 tables, 27 plates, index, bibliography. ISBN 0-312-08652-0. $35.00.

Before the disintegration of the USSR, the role of national movements in the USSR, particularly in Ukraine, was underestimated by the West (President George Bush's "Chicken Kiev" speech is a well-known example). Now, the interest in understanding Ukraine is increasing. Until recently this interest was concentrated mainly on nuclear issues. However, a deeper understanding of Ukraine's contemporary politics, history, and culture is necessary.

This book covers the period from 1985 to 1991. While in Ukraine some try to discredit, and others to romanticize, the role of dissidents and Rukh in gaining independence—while some members of the nomenklatura try to persuade public opinion of their "patriotic" work within the Soviet system—this book provides sober analyses of the real situation. Giving due attention to national feelings, the authors at the same time try to explain the behavior of national communists by way of the Rational Choice theory, stressing the new career opportunities (for the cultural intelligentsia as well).

The authors agree that based on the traditions of the 1960s and 1970s, especially on Karl Deutsch and Michael Hechter, the "deterministic" approach of Bohdan Krawchenko explains the advantages of the contemporary national movement: modernization created a national intelligentsia which was then restricted and politicized by the "cultural division of labor." However, following Alexander Motyl they argue that taking into account the vast power of the state in the modern era, especially in the Soviet context, the timing of each upsurge of oppositional activity is more easily explained by periods of state tolerance. They stress that in order to send a "nationalist" message to society, it was necessary to have enough channels of communication.

When the center could no longer provide resources and legitimacy, national communists reoriented themselves towards the national electorate and tried to use demands from below to strengthen their own position. Therefore, while Krawchenko would argue that the socio-economic changes explain why the faultlines of disintegration of the USSR are national, the authors agree with Motyl that because of the primacy of the state it was perestroika and the collapse of central institutions which to a great extent created nationalism and national communism. They argue that in Ukraine, the mobilizational ability of both the Communist Party and the national-democratic opposition was in simultaneous decline after October 1990. Therefore, Ukrainian independence became the "joint project" of the national communists, "who finally made a decisive contribution," and of the opposition (p. 3).

The authors argue that the results of the campaign on the state level "to rehabilitate and revive Ukrainian cultural identity had more rapid effect than the cultural intelligentsia could have hoped to have achieved through their efforts from below" (p. 206). This reviewer agrees that the role of the national communists was immense. However, the role of the opposition should be stressed once again: the dissidents and Rukh used liberalization in order to awake the masses, at least to mobilize the Ukrainian-speaking intelligentsia; it helped to divide the Communist Party. After the smooth and peaceful transition to independence, the national communists failed to start real reform and thus to support the process of state-building.

It is important that while in the Russian and very often in the Western press there are stereotypes about Ukrainian "intolerance," the authors of the book stress that fears about Ukrainization were a paper tiger. However, they consider that "although a dire economic situation may help to unite all Ukrainian citizens in a kind of short-term territorial patriotism, the long-term unity of an independent Ukraine is more likely to depend on the development of symbolic cultural unity, which chapter 1 sought to argue was a more affective form of social cement than purely civic bonds, or ties of material interest." In this case they recommend that Kyiv carry out a flexible and pluralistic policy, because "the attempt to rely exclusively on the Kyiv-L′viv tradition, narrowly conceived, for the cultural resources of the new state would simply create centrifugal forces" (p. 36).

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THE PRIVATIZATION PROCESS IN CENTRAL EUROPE; and THE PRIVATIZATION PROCESS IN RUSSIA, UKRAINE, AND THE BALTIC STATES. By *Roman Frydman, Andrzej Rapaczynski, John S. Earle, et al.* Central European University Privatization Reports, vols. 1 and 2. Budapest, London, New York: CEU Press, 1993. 262 and 276 pp. Each volume $15.00 paperback, $45.00 hardcover. ISBN (vol. 1) 1-85866-000-9 (paper), 1-85866-002-5 (cloth); (vol. 2) 1-85866-001-7 (paper), 1-85866-003-3 (cloth).

These two volumes constitute a collection of surveys of the ongoing privatization reforms in East Europe and several Newly Independent States. Sponsored by the Central European University in Prague, the reports follow a common outline covering (1) the economic environment (summarizing the country's recent economic history and macroeconomic profile), (2) present forms of ownership, (3) an overview of the privatization process, and (4) corporatization and commercialization. Hence, although no direct comparisons of country experiences are being offered, the reader can compare various reform policies and judge their relative success or failure.

Thus, the chapter on Ukraine reports considerable progess in the promulgation of the laws and various institutions needed for privatization and the accompanying transformation of state enterprises into several types of market-oriented corporations. We note that Ukraine's laws on foreign investment compare favorably with those in neighboring countries. However, Ukraine's private sector and foreign participation in the economy have been expanding quite slowly in comparison to the experience of Poland and other former satellite countries, as well as Russia and the Baltic countries. The authors of the chapter on Ukraine (among them V. Lanovyi, the reform-minded candidate in the 1994 presidential elections) contend that the reforms have been stymied by the entrenched reactionaries in the government and Parliament who claim to be protecting the people from the chaos of a collapsing state-controlled system.

Although the entire former Soviet bloc has been engulfed in a deep economic crisis, why have Ukraine's inflation and the decline in output been more pronounced than in the neighboring countries? The evidence offered in the two reviewed volumes demonstrates how, in countries like Poland, Hungary, and even the small Baltic countries, a decisive combination of such measures as privatization vouchers, conversion of state monopolies into partly private corporations, active engagement of multinational corporations, and tangible support by Western countries succeeded in installing a self-sustaining and reasonably efficient market mechanism.

A common weakness of country studies is that they do not adequately identify the sources of data and institutional information. This is a significant oversight in the case of Ukraine, since the republic's economic status during the Soviet era has been poorly understood in the West, while the data for the country's early years of independence are still being redefined and not readily available from the Ministry of Statistics and other agencies. Moreover, such primary information and analytical reports are becoming available in the West only recently in the standard compilations by the

United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and commercial publishers, both in print and electronic format. We need to broadcast helpful bibliographies of sources appearing in both local languages and English.

We note that the editors were rather lax in their transliteration of geographic and proper names. For instance, the otherwise helpful map of Ukraine transliterates Ukrainian names from the Russian language rather than directly from Ukrainian, as is now the practice of the National Geographic Society, the *New York Times*, and major encyclopedias.

To conclude, the reviewed collection of country surveys provides a welcome starting point for understanding the structural changes in the former Soviet bloc. Although the reforms address similar problems, the diverse outcomes will surely have significant implications for international relations and business.

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DILEMMAS OF INDEPENDENCE: UKRAINE AFTER TOTALITARIANISM. By *Alexander J. Motyl*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993. 217 pp. Index. ISBN (paper) 0-87609-131-1. $17.95.

In *Dilemmas of Independence*, political scientist Alexander Motyl, who is the associate director of the Harriman Institute at Columbia University, firmly sets forth why Ukraine matters: its geography, its resources, its nuclear arsenal and, more emphatically, its regional importance in containing Russia and maintaining world peace. Explicitly aimed at policy makers, Motyl's book places Ukraine in the current geopolitical realm of Western economic and security interests. His pessimistic prognosis concludes with a plea that "the United States and Western Europe can make a big difference by realizing that they can, indeed must save the day" (p. 175). Despite his rather abrupt conclusion, Motyl's depth of knowledge is evident throughout the text in the historical allusions that he integrates into the long-term trends and root causes of Ukraine's contemporary polity. In general, he strives to paint "the big picture" of the "larger forces pushing countries, leaders, and groups in specific directions" (p. xii).

What exactly are the larger forces pushing Ukraine, and in what direction is Ukraine going? According to Motyl, the predominant forces influencing Ukraine's current dilemmas are the legacies of totalitarianism and empire. Historically rooted in Russian-Ukrainian relations, these forces are so overwhelming that without Western intervention Ukraine is headed for a disaster, which will probably "drag down in its

wake Russia, Poland, Belarus, and Central Europe with unimagined consequences for the political stability of the West" (p. 175). The powerful impact of empire and totalitarianism, one of Motyl's most prominent themes, is inherently oppositional: "the legacy of empire encourages the forceful promotion of rapid and fundamental change and the legacy of totalitarianism negates the very possibility of that change" (p. xi). As both a former Russian colony and victim of communist totalitarianism, Ukraine must somehow transform or create everything essential to modern, independent statehood that the Soviet experience repressed or destroyed: civil society, a free market economy, democratic institutions, national security (i.e., a nonthreatening Russia), national identity, and effective indigenous leadership. These "essentials" pose the greatest challenge to Ukraine's independent survival and represent the critical dilemmas that Motyl explores in separate chapters of his text.

Because Ukraine's neighbors are obviously grappling with similar burdens and challenges, Motyl applies a comparative approach to his analysis of the meanings and broader consequences of phenomena such as totalitarianism and empire. Yet in his illumination of the complexities and fragility of Ukraine's independence, he describes a region haunted by its own history. Thus, while Motyl maintains that Ukraine is "not unique" among the former domains of the Soviet empire, his entire book is predicated on the distinctive nature of the Ukrainian experience and history: misperceptions of Ukraine as "Little Russia," the ethnic and religious heterogeneity of Ukraine's population, its insecure borders susceptible to secessionist disputes (e.g., Crimea), and the extreme Stalinization exemplified by the Great Famine of 1932–33, to name a few. Given Ukraine's unique history and its conflicting legacies of empire and totalitarianism, it seems unlikely, as Motyl shows, that Ukraine will be able to peacefully modernize without international support, especially Western capital.

In terms of Ukraine's proposed future course of action, Motyl's prescriptive analysis is less persuasive. He is highly critical of "shock therapy" economic reforms which "are a surefire way of creating massive political instability, social chaos, and ethnic conflict" (p. xiii). Instead he suggests an "evolutionary set of policies that involve the sequencing of political, social, and economic reform within countries and among countries" (p. xiii). Cautious policies do not, however, mean piecemeal reform which, in Motyl's view, cannot take root in the shambles of totalitarian ruin. While Motyl disparages the ad hoc reformers as much as the shock therapy reformers, he fails to offer a "third way" of evolutionary reform measures, other than to warn (in Alec Nove's words) of the threat of social and political instability inherent in Ukraine's precarious transition to a market economy.

Ukraine has fallen to even further lows economically since *Dilemmas of Independence* was published in early 1993. The lack of far-reaching reforms has made this nation's standard of living substantially lower today than Russia's, even though the author predicted that Ukraine "is unlikely to degenerate as far and as fast as Russia" (p. 98). The gradualistic "third way," which Motyl advises is the best route, remains ill-defined—lying somewhere in between capitalism (shock therapy) and communism (state control). What is evident from the seemingly uncharted route Ukraine travels, is the persistence of a nomenklatura and the emergence of

monopolistic "enterprisers" who operate and control the huge, inefficient, nonmarket factories and farms, demanding greater injections of state funds all in the name of avoiding unemployment. Such control over production is, in many analysts' view, what drove the Soviet Union into self-destruction, and now it continues to push Ukraine further toward disaster.

As in the case of Weimar, Motyl repeatedly warns, Ukraine's social, political, and economic situation is on the verge of a devastating collapse, and, as he writes in his final sentence, "One post Weimar was surely enough" (p. 197). To make matters worse, Ukraine is surrounded by unstable post-Soviet "Weimar" republics which share a tendency toward "authoritarian rule by an alliance of a corrupt state, a strongman president and a powerful military" (p.174). Motyl's abstruse use of Weimar as a point of comparison exemplifies his pessimistic alarmism and attempt to jar Western policy-makers into some constructive action. Such action, in Motyl's view, should begin with a change in the "Russia first" mindset, because the prioritizing of Russian policy by Western leaders undermines the tremendous benefit that Ukraine's independence brings to the balance of power in Europe and Eurasia by checking Russia's historical proclivity toward imperialism.

In his fruitful discussion of Ukrainian nationalism, Motyl reminds us that during the tumultuous collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukrainian leaders declared Ukraine's independence not in a triumph of revolutionary nationalism, but as a pragmatic option for retaining power. President Leonid Kravchuk's political survival, from Communist Party propaganda chief to nationalist leader, is the quintessential example of Ukraine's transition into independence and independent Ukraine's lack of revolutionary breaks with its Soviet past. If nationalism and a coherent national identity seem to be relatively undeveloped, as Motyl indicates, then how will this heterogeneous region surmount the daunting challenges ahead? What will constitute Ukraine's post-Soviet political culture?

In his chapter, "Forging a National Identity," Motyl explores these issues impressively through an analysis of how Ukraine's political language is changing, and how Ukrainian elites should promote a national identity based on multicultural "mythic constructs," such as the Cossack. Although Motyl recognizes that such a controversial figure symbolizes a bloody history of Jewish-Ukrainian relations, he maintains that the Cossacks' connotations of freedom, frontier, and individualism are positive contributions to the "necessary" cementing of an inclusionary Ukrainian national identity. Unfortunately, little is offered by Motyl in terms of Ukrainian national identity that predates the collapse of the Soviet Union. And because Ukraine continues to move sluggishly toward economic reform and the building of democratic institutions, it may have been more illuminating to examine the ostensible continuities in Ukrainian political culture (e.g., the generally unscathed survival of Lenin statues outside of Western Ukraine).

In the end, Motyl's work raises issues which are beyond the scope of his short study, thereby leaving the reader thirsty for more. Clearly Motyl's plea to Western policy-makers is appropriate, for the West has a significant role to play in the former Soviet Union; however, his less than critical position toward Ukrainian leaders, such as

President Leonid Kravchuk (whom he describes as "masterful," p. 152), and his less extensive prescriptive analysis of how Ukrainians may be able to overcome their weighty historical legacies and the challenges of independence, leaves the potential of this study unfulfilled. Motyl's work, nevertheless, is a useful addition to post-Soviet studies because of the historical and theoretical dimensions he relates to Ukraine's contemporary dilemmas.

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